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MISSIONARY LABORS

OF

Fathers Marquette, Menard and Allouez,

IN THE

LAKE SUPERIOR REGION.

relations
1663-76

BY

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OF

BAYFIELD, WIS.

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PREFACE.

THE writing of this little work has been a labor of love to the author. About a year ago his attention was drawn to the labors of Fathers Allouez and Marquette in the vicinity of Ashland and Bayfield. Then came the question: Where are we to look for the site of their church in this neighborhood? Popular opinion pointed out La Pointe on Madeline Island as the place where the old Jesuit church once stood. Having written, however, to a Very Rev. Friend, whose name elsewhere occurs in this little volume, in regard to this matter, he soon ascertained from the citations given from the "Jesuit Relations" of 1667–71, that we must not look for the site of said church on Madelaine Island, but on the mainland, at the head of Chagaouamigong (Chequamegon) Bay. The reading of these citations awakened in the writer a desire to learn more of the history of said mission, and he accordingly expressed a wish to that effect to the Very Rev. Gentleman above referred to, who kindly sent him the "Relations" and many other works containing much valuable information in regard to the history of the early missionaries of the Lake Superior region. These sources of information the writer has used in the compilation of the little work he now offers to the public. He is fully aware of its great imperfection. The care of an extensive mission made it impossible to bestow that care and study upon the work, which it deserves. Still, he has honestly endeavored to do his best to give the reader a reliable and full account of the labors and trials of the three most prominent Jesuit Fathers that worked in the missionary field of northern Wisconsin. We mean Father Menard, who arrived in the Lake Superior country in 1660; Father Allouez, who came to Chagaouamigong in 1665, and Father Marquette, who labored

here from 1669–71. We have endeavored to give facts and dates as truthfully and reliably as could be ascertained, for the reader wants history, not romance. If there is anything the writer detests it is the superficial, romancing style of historical writing so common nowadays in magazines, newspapers, and books of travel. They are generally a mixture of true and error, written by men gifted with a certain amount of superficial knowledge, but to whom truth is a matter of only secondary importance, their main aim being to appear cute and smart and to write sensational stuff, so as to find ready sale for their crude productions. We see enough of that romancing style of writing history in the newspaper accounts of the La Pointe church and the early Jesuit mission in this vicinity. We have endeavored to avoid their ways, seeking but the plain truth in all things. At the bottom of the respective page we always give the author's name, with the number of the page, so that the reader can verify our statements. However, we do not claim infallibility. To err is human, and in spite of all our endeavors we may have made occasionally a mistake, for which we ask the reader's indulgence. In the preparation of this work we have received valuable assistance from the Very Rev. Friend above spoken of, and others who sent us historical documents; to all and everyone of whom we hereby tender our sincere thanks. We have added some "Historical and biographical notes," as also a short dissertation on some peculiarities of the Chippewa language, which we hope may be of interest to the reader. Whatever will be realized from the sale of this little book will be applied for the benefit of the Indian mission. Should this little work contribute ever so little towards promoting respect for the memory of the pious and zealous missionaries spoken of in its pages, the writer will consider himself abundantly repaid for all the labor bestowed upon it.

Bayfield, Wis., July 14, 1886.

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CHAPTER I.

FATHER MENARD, THE PIONEER MISSIONARY OF LAKE SUPERIOR; HIS LABORS, TRIALS AND HARDSHIPS AMONG THE HURONS AND IROQUOIS; HIS JOURNEY TO ST. THERESA (KEWEENAW) BAY.

Towards the end of March, 1640, three vessels bound for Quebec left the harbor of Dieppe, France, and casting anchor within sight of the town, they awaited a favorable breeze for their westerly voyage. A terrible storm, however, broke out, which lasted from the 26th of March to the 28th of April. "I do not know," said Father Menard, who was aboard the flagship of the flotilla, the 'Esperance,' "I do not know whether the evil spirits foresaw some great good to be effected by our passage, but apparently they were determined to sink us in the very roadstead. They stirred up the whole ocean; they unchained the winds and excited tempests so frightful and continuous, that they came near destroying us within sight of Dieppe." On board the same vessel were another Jesuit Father and two lay-brothers, two Sisters of Mercy and two Ursuline Nuns, all of them determined to devote the rest of their lives to the service of the Catholic colonists and the pagan Indians of Canada, or, as it was then called, New France.

After a pleasant voyage of two months, they reached Tadoussac, June 1st, and in a few days later Quebec, which was then but a poor fort with a few log houses. In 1608, one year after the building of Jamestown, Virginia, Champlain built the first log cabin in Quebec. In 1629 it was burnt by a French party in the service of the English, but three years later, when Canada was restored to the French, it was rebuilt and from that time became the center whence Missionaries were sent in all directions.

About a year after his arrival, Father Menard was sent to the Hurons. This tribe occupied a small strip of territory

on the southeastern shore of Georgian Bay and were then a large and prosperous tribe, numbering at least 30,000 souls, living in some twenty large settlements. Their deadly foes were the Iroquois, or Five Nations of New York, with whom they were continually in war and by whom they were well nigh exterminated in 1648–49[1]. A small party, numbering about 500, after many wanderings through the wilds of Michigan and Wisconsin, came to reside on the shores of Chagaouamigong[2] Bay and the Apostles Islands, where Father Allouez found them in 1665.

To give an idea of Father Menard's voyage to his Huron Mission, we will give the description given by another Missionary: "Of two difficulties regularly met with, the first is that of rapids and portages; for these abound in every river throughout those regions. When a person approaches such cataracts or rapids, he has to step ashore and carry on his back, through forests or over high, vexatious rocks, not only his baggage, but also the canoe. This is not accomplished without much labor; for there are portages of one, two and three leagues, each of them, besides, requiring several journeys, if one has ever so small a number of packages. At some places, where the rapids are not less swift than at the portages, but of easier access, the Indians, plunging into the water, drag their canoes and conduct them with their hands with utmost difficulty and danger; for sometimes they are up to their necks in the current, so that they have to let go their hold upon their canoes and save themselves as best they can from the rapidity of the water, that snatches the canoe out of their hands and carries it off.....I have computed the number of portages and find that we carried thirty-five times and dragged at least fifty times. The second ordinary difficulty concerns food. A person is often obliged to fast, especially if he happens to lose the places where he stowed away provisions on his down-river course. Even

1. See "Historical and biographical notes," where a short sketch of the rise and downfall of the Huron mission is given.

2. Chagaouamigong, pronounced Sha-ga-wa-mi-gong. To pronounce Indian words, observe that
a is pronounced like a in father, far.
e is pronounced like a in way, say.
i is pronounced like ee in feel, seen.
o is pronounced like o in own, sown.
ou is pronounced like oo in foot, fool.
French ch is pronounced like sh in she, show.
kw is pronounced like q in queen.

when he finds them, his appetite remains none the less keen for having regaled himself with their contents, for the usual repast is only a little corn, broken between two stones and sometimes simply taken in fresh water, which is insipid food. Sometimes he has fish, but this is mere chance, unless he happen to pass some tribe from whom he can buy it. Add to this that a person must sleep on the bare ground. perhaps on a hard rock—that he has to breathe an air infected by the smell of labor-worn savages, to walk in the water, through morasses and amidst the darkness and embarrassment of forests, where the stings of innumerable little flies and mosquitoes molest him not a little."

Indian missionary life two hundred years ago was indeed hard. The pagan Indian treated the poor, defenseless missionary with inhuman brutality, made him the butt of his coarse raillery and contempt. The missionary was completely at the mercy of the savage Indian, and many a Father, after years of untold hardships and sufferings, was burnt at the stake or tomahawked. Wisconsin soil has been watered with the blood of two, perhaps three, of such apostolic men[1]. Nothing but long continued proofs of disinterested zeal, sincerity of intention and purity of life, and the constant exhibition of heaven-born charity, imperturbable peace of mind and evangelical meekness, joined with fearless courage and apostolical freedom of speech, could at length dispel the darkness of the Indian mind—such as measured the merit of a man by the breadth of his shoulders and the number of scalps hung up in his wigwam. A most cowardly fear of supernatural evil influences, going side by side with savage prowess and contempt of danger in war, and studiously kept alive by crafty medicine-men, was not a less powerful obstacle against the reception of Christianity. To ward off those evil influences, the minutest attention to numberless superstitious practices was considered indispensable, and those refusing to participate in the national demon worship were, as in the days of the Cæsars, held as declared enemies of their own kith and kin and of the whole tribe. Adding the fact that polygamy was almost universally practiced, at least among the tribes of Lake Superior, among the Foxes, Ottawas, Pottawatamis, and other tribes of Wiscon-

1. See "Hist. and biog. notes," for a short dissertation on the three martyred missionaries of Wisconsin.

sin and Michigan, it is no wonder that such people turned a deaf ear to the teachers of a religion which condemned and forbade their national custom. Besides, their mode of living, huddled together in small wigwams, almost necessarily engendered lewdness and licentiousness. Moreover, their limited range of thought made their daily conversation generally turn upon topics of low, animal gratifications, which poisoned the minds and hearts of the young. Living free and untrammelled by the laws and customs of civilized and Christian life, they felt all restraint irksome and hence disliked a religion that bound them down to the observance of certain laws and duties wholly at variance with their pagan modes of life. Finally, their defective mental capacity prevented them from understanding and appreciating the innate beauty of virtue, religion, and of pure, spiritual, heavenly joys. The only thing that could make any impression on their dark, pagan minds, was the threat, constantly held before them by the missionary, of frightful, endless torments in the fire of hell. This and this alone could prevail on them to give up their superstitious and animal mode of life and embrace Christianity with its enlightening, soul-purifying and heavenward elevating doctrines. Even then their childish ficklemindedness made the early missionaries very slow and cautious in admitting them to Baptism Hence their first Baptisms were generally those of little children, as yet uncontaminated by vice, and the dying, whom they carefully prepared for that holy Sacrament. But let us return to Father Menard and his fellow-laborers among the Hurons.

After years of patient labor among that tribe, their perseverance was at last rewarded by an abundant harvest. There was a reasonable hope that soon the whole tribe would be converted, but Iroquois incursions in 1648 and 1649 broke up the missions. Fifteen towns were abandoned, some of the Fathers, as for instance Brebeuf and Lallemant[1], were tortured and burnt at the stake. The people who had escaped death or captivity, fled in every direction, some to the kindred Tionontates, Attiwarandonk and Eries, whilst others sought refuge among their Algonquin friends on Lake Huron and Superior.

Up to that time Father Menard had been employed partly in the Huron mission, partly among the Algonquin

1. See "His. and biog. notes" for a detailed account of the glorious martyrdom of these two Fathers.

tribes, especially the Nipissing and Atontrates. After the ruin of the Huron missions he labored chiefly in the Indian and French settlements at Three Rivers. Seven years later an extremely hazardous mission was started among the Iroquois, who feigned a desire for peace and Menard was one of the Fathers sent there. He reached the south shore of Lake Ontario in July, 1656, and before the end of the year he collected around him on Lake Cayuga, a small flock of Christians, consisting chiefly of Huron captives. His gentle ways and almost motherly kindness made him greatly beloved by the numerous prisoners of war, swept together from among a score of different Indian tribes and kept as slaves in the Iroquois country. Misfortune had softened their hearts and made them accessible to the tidings of salvation. Even the fierce Iroquois felt the mild but potent influence of this holy missionary's zeal and many of them were baptized. In a short time he converted and baptized there some four hundred Indians. A letter of his written about a year after the opening of the Cayuga mission reveals to us his ardent and fearless zeal. He writes:[1]

"I praise God that your Reverence still takes an interest in our affairs; but I am a little suprised to hear you speak in a tone different from that to which we were accustomed. How long ago is it since you wrote we had nothing to fear, that God continued sending you wherewith to support us in this remote corner of the world? How is it that you now complain of our too great expenses? We are in a place where the cost of living is very much greater than among the Hurons, and where we have no assistance to expect from the country itself, among false traitors, who ill-treat us by right of prescription. There is a crowd of captives here, gathered from all sides, who after all are capable of being made children of God. Of these I alone have since last year baptized more than four hundred. We walk with our heads lifted up in the midst of dangers, through insults, hootings, calumnies, *tomahawks and knives, with which they often enough run after us, to put us to death.* Almost daily we are on the eve of being massacred, "as dying and behold we live." And you tell us that you are no more able to support this mission. I prefer, my Rev. Father, to stand by the last words

1. "Relation" of 1657. p. 56. We cite from the Quebec edition of 1858, which is a reprint of the edition of Sebastian Cramoisy, Paris, 1657-1673.

of your letter, where you remark that after all, if we do our part well, God will do His as far as will be needed. Yes, assuredly, He will succor us, if we seek but His glory, if we expose our lives to have His blood applied to those poor, abandoned souls. This very thing all our Fathers here are doing with incredible trouble and labor. Should God, who led us into this land of barbarians, allow us to be slaughtered, praise be to Him for ever! Jesus, His Gospel, the salvation of those poor souls, these are the inducements that retain us here and make us tarry, as it were, in the midst of flames. *Men burnt and devoured are sights to which our eyes are accustomed.* Pray you to God, that He may make Christians of those cannibals, and that He may strengthen us more and more; and we, we shall beg Him to move the hearts of those who love Him, so that they may enable you to assist us." Thus wrote this saintly man to his Superior in Quebec.

The time for the spiritual regeneration of the Iroquois Nation had not yet come. The tomahawk, treacherously buried for a while, to draw a number of Huron fugitives and of French laymen, as well as priests, into the country, was raised again in the spring of 1658. Only stratagem and secret flight, most skillfully planned and luckily accomplished, could save the lives of fifty-three Frenchmen, by the council of the headmen condemned to death in the heart of the Iroquois country. With a bleeding heart Father Menard left with the rest in the silence of the night. Far sooner would he have stayed with his neophytes, and, if necessary, have suffered death at his post. He felt as if his heart had been torn out of his body, or as a mother violently torn away from her children; but obedience called him away, and so he departed with the rest. Two years later we see him go to the Lake Superior country, where he perished in the wilds of Wisconsin, trying to bring the consolations of religion to a few starving Hurons at the headwaters of Black River.

The first attempt to carry the gospel to Lake Superior country was made in 1642 by Raymbault and Jogues[1]. They reached Sault Ste. Marie and were well received by the two thousand Indians assembled there. But obedience compelled them to return to the lower missions, where their services were deemed indispensable. Again in 1656, Fathers Garreau

1. See "Hist. and biog. notes" for a detailed account of his labors, sufferings and death.

and Gabriel Drouillettes embarked with an Ottawa party, but having fallen into an Iroquois ambush, between Three Rivers and Montreal, Garreau was mortally wounded by a Mohawk ball and Drouillettes abandoned by the Ottawas in their precipitate flight.

In 1660 another Ottawa flotilla of sixty canoes arrived at Three Rivers. Two Fathers attempted to accompany them on their return voyage. One of them, however, only succeeded, namely, Father Menard. The other Father was unceremoniously set ashore at Montreal. Before starting from Three Rivers, Father Menard penned, in the dead hour of night, the following lines to a reverend friend:

"My Rev. Father, — The Peace of Christ!

I write to you probably the last word and I desire it to be the seal of our friendship until eternity. Love him, whom the Lord Jesus does not disdain to love, although the greatest sinner; for he loves him with whom he deigns to share his cross. May your friendship, my good Father, be useful to me in the desirable fruits of your holy sacrifices. In three or four months you may put me in the memento of the dead, considering the manner of living of these people, and my age and weak constitution. Notwithstanding all this, I have felt such a powerful attraction and have seen so little of nature in this undertaking, that I could not doubt but that I would have had eternal remorse, had I missed this opportunity.

"We were taken a little by surprise, so that we are unable to provide ourselves with clothing and other necessary things. But He who feeds the little birds and clothes the lilies of the fields, will take care of his servants. Should we happen to die of misery, that would be for us a great happiness. I am overwhelmed with business. All I can do is to recommend our voyage to your holy Sacrifices, and to embrace you with the same heart as I hope to do in eternity.

My Rev. Father—Your very humble and affectionate servant of Jesus Christ, R. Menard.

Three Rivers, this 27th day of August, at 2 o'clock after midnight, 1660."[1]

The Ottawa flotilla, and with it Father Menard, left Three Rivers on the 28th of August. How he fared on his voyage to Lake Superior is best learned from a letter which he wrote

1. "Relation" of 1660, p. 30.

from Keweenaw Bay, Mich., to his superior in Quebec, a few months before his death in the wild woods of Wisconsin. He writes as follows:[1]

"Our journey has been a happy one for our Frenchmen, who all arrived in good health, about the middle of October, not, however, without having suffered much and run great risks from high seas on the lakes; from rapids and cataracts frightful to behold, which we had to pass over on a frail piece of bark; from starvation, our almost constant companion, and from the Iroquois arms that were turned against us. Between Three Rivers and Montreal we happily met his Lordship, the Bishop of Petrea (Laval, first Bishop of Quebec), who spoke words to me which deeply entered my heart and will be a subject of consolation to me in any adverse accidents that may befall me. 'Father,' he said, 'every consideration seems to demand your staying here; but God, who is stronger than all, wants you in those parts.' O! how I blessed God since that meeting, and how sweetly have those words, spoken by so holy a prelate, come home to me in the worst of my sufferings, misery and abandonment! God wants me in those parts! How often have I revolved those words in my mind amidst the torrent's roar and in the solitude of our great forests!

"The Indians, who granted me a passage, with the assurance of fair treatment, considering my age (he was then fifty-six years old) and infirmities, have after all not spared me. They required me to carry on my shoulders very heavy packs every time, or nearly so, when we had to make a portage, and although my paddle, wielded by hands as feeble as mine, did but little service towards hastening the journey, they would not allow it to be idle." (They did not even allow him time to say his office and threw his breviary into the water; luckily he found another copy, stowed away at his sudden departure in one of the packages. Perhaps they shared the superstitious fear of the pagan Hurons, who considered the mysterious procedure of passing the eyes over curiously dotted paper as a mighty charm for their destruction.)

The Father continues: "Once they obliged me to disembark on a very bad spot. To overtake them I had to make my way over frightful rocks and precipices. So much was

1. "Relation" of 1664, p. 2.

the country intersected with ravines and so steep were the mountains, that I thought I should never extricate myself. Hastening my steps, for fear of being left behind, I hurt my foot and leg. They remained swollen and annoyed me very much for the rest of the journey, especially when the water commenced to become cold, we being obliged to remain barefoot and ready to jump into the water, in order to lighten the canoe, whenever they judged it proper. Add to this, that those people observe no regularity in their meals, eating everything at once and making no provision for the morrow. As for their camping, no attention is paid to their own or their guest's comfort, but only to the security of the canoes and to the facility for embarkment and disembarkment. As for rest, they generally sleep on uneven, rocky ground, on which they spread a few branches, if at hand.

"We have everyone of us kept fast, and that a rigorous one, having to content ourselves with small fruits, which are of rare occurrence, and such as nowhere else are eaten. Happy those who find a certain kind of moss (tripe de roche) which grows on rocks and of which they make a black broth. As for moose-skins, those who had some left, ate them stealthily. Everything seems palatable, when a person is hungry.

"But the worst was to come. Having after such hardships entered Lake Superior, there, in place of finding the promised rest and provisions, our canoe was smashed by a falling tree and that so completely, that no hope of repairing it was left. Everyone abandoned us and we were left—three Indians and myself—without food and canoe. In that state we remainid six days, living on filthy offal, which, to keep off starvation, we had to scratch up with our nails around an old abandoned lodge. To make soup we pounded the bones that lay about. We picked up earth saturated with the blood of animals that had been killed there; in a word, we made food of everything. One of us was continually on the lookout at the shore, to implore the mercy of those that passed by, and we wrested from them a few slices of dried meat, which saved us from death. At last some, more compassionate, took us up and brought us to our rallying point, destined for our wintering. This is a large bay[1] on the south shore of Lake Superior (Keweenaw Bay), where I arrived on

1. See "Hist. and biog. notes" for a short dissertation on St. Theresa Bay and the site of Father Menard's mission.

St. Theresa's day (Oct. 15th, 1660) and here I had the consolation of saying Mass, which repaid me with usury for all my past hardships. Here also I opened a "flying church" of Christian Indians, occasional visitors from the neighborhood of our French settlements (on the St. Lawrence) and of such others as the mercy of God has gathered in from this place."

CHAPTER II.

Father Menard's Labors at St. Theresa Bay.

The Father writes: [1]"One of my first visits was to a miserable hut under a large rotten tree, which served it as a shelter on the one side and as a support to some spruce branches to keep off the wind. I entered on the other side, crawling on my belly, and found there a treasure: it was a woman abandoned by her husband and daughter, who had left to her two little children in a dying condition; one of them was about two years old, the other three. I spoke to this poor, afflicted creature, and she listened to me with pleasure. "My brother," said she to me, "I know well enough that my people disapprove of your discourses, but, as for me, I relish them very much; what you tell me is full of consolation." Then she drew forth from under the tree a piece of dried fish, which she took, so to say, from her own mouth to pay me for my visit. I thanked her and made use of this favorable occasion to assure myself of the salvation of those two children by conferring on them holy Baptism.

"Some time after I returned to this good creature and found her full of determination to serve God, and, in fact, from that day she began to come to prayers night and morning and that so steadily that she did not fail even once, no matter what work or occupation she might have on hand to make her living. The younger of the two children did not delay long to give to heaven the first fruits of this mission, having gone there after practicing, child as he was, some exercise of Christianity during the short time that he outlived his Baptism; for, having noticed that his grandmother prayed

1. "Relation" of 1664, p. 3 *et seq.*

to God before eating, he began himself to put his little hand to his forehead to make the sign of the cross before eating and drinking, which practice he kept up until the last, a very rare thing for an Indian child not yet two years old.

"The second person who seems to have been predestined for Paradise, is a young man of about thirty years, who was a subject of wonder to our Indians since a long time by reason of a resoluteness unknown among them, which made him resist all temptations of the spirit of impurity which are here as frequent as anywhere else in the world. He spoke to me several times during our voyage, and showed a great desire to become a Christian. But when I learned that he was not married, I persuaded myself that he was more deeply plunged in sin than those who are married. I found out here that he had always conducted himself very properly and that no one had ever been able to draw out of his mouth a single impure word. He was one of the first who came to find me as soon as I had withdrawn to a little hermitage, a poor cabin made of fir-tree branches laid upon one another, not so much to defend me from the rigors of the season as to set my imagination aright and to make me believe that I was under cover. This young man having entered there, I asked him, after several pleasant conversations, how it was that he was not married, and whether he meant in real earnest to remain in that state. "My Father," said he, "I am resolved not to live after the way of our people, nor to unite myself to a woman, who abandons herself to vice as all others of this country do. If I do not find an innocent and chaste woman, I will never take any, and I am satisfied to remain with my brother for the rest of my life. For the rest, if you should notice that I act otherwise than I am telling you, you may exclude me from prayer" (from becoming a Christian). This firm resoluteness, joined with the urgent request he made to be admitted among the Christians, obliged me to grant him holy Baptism, at which I gave him the name of Louis. Afterwards I have noticed that God has taken possession of his heart, as he showed on all occasions. Once this winter a very impure feast was got up by order of the medicine-men, in order to banish a desperate sickness. Louis was begged and most pressingly urged to be present, to fill the number appointed for that infamous ceremony. He refused, and as all his relatives urged

him and quarreled with him to prevail on him to go there, he arose, and going out of one door of the wigwam, he remained somewhere for a time to pray, then entering again by another door, he was made the laughing-stock of all and incurred the indignation of his relatives. As he is *unique* in his way of living, he has to put up with a thousand little affronts from all quarters, to which, thanks be to God, he has already grown accustomed, repaying with a smile all the railleries heaped upon him, without shrinking or relaxing in a single point from the duties of a good Christian. Barbarism here has never witnessed courage of such a stamp.

"The third chosen soul found is the eldest sister of our Louis: a poor widow burdened with five children, a peaceable woman, busy all day long with her household affairs. She brought to me the oldest of her children, a girl sixteen years of age, to be instructed in order, as she said, that God might have compassion on her daughter and restore her to health, which she had lost since some months. The child had a continual cough, which choked her voice and deprived her of speech. I made her pray to God, and then had her bled, which restored her voice. After this the mother came to offer me all her children for instruction, God disposing all for the salvation of his elect. I put their piety to a good trial, and finding them resolute and well prepared for Baptism, I conferred it at the same time upon the mother and her children, who henceforth are very grateful to God for the grace which they have received, and they have been very good to me, having contributed a great deal towards my support by their charitable donations.

"The fourth whom God has given me, is a poor, old man, who was extremely sick at Three Rivers last year, and whom I could not get to talk to on account of the medicine-men, who were continually about him. This good man, in regard to whom God has his designs, was not then yet ripe for heaven. The misfortune that happened to him on his voyage has humbled him very much, for a squall of wind having overtaken him on Lake Superior, in saving his life, he lost all he had collected at Three Rivers. As old age and poverty are in great contempt with the Indians, he saw himself obliged to withdraw to our cabin, where, at first having railled at our mysteries, God inspired me so well when rebuking his audacity and speaking to his heart that, giving

place to grace and the Holy Ghost, he came to see me the next day, in order to ask to be allowed to pray to God (to become a Christian) Since then he has practiced prayer so openly, fervently and resolutely, that I could not refuse him holy Baptism. He continues to render himself worthy of this favor, making public profession before his countrymen, who are all pagans, of being a disciple of Jesus Christ.

"As to the other Christians who compose this church, they are few in number, but chosen, and they give me much satisfaction. I did not like to admit a great number, contenting myself with such as I judged would persevere in the faith during my absence; for I do not know what will become of me, nor to which side I will go. However, I should have to do great violence to myself if I had to come down from the cross which God has prepared for me in this extremity of the world in my old days. Not a single pulsation of my heart is for returning to Three Rivers. I do not know of what nature are the nails, which hold me attached to this holy wood; but the mere thought that anybody should come to detach me from it makes me shudder, and very often I start up out of my sleep with the thought that there is no Outaouak for me and that my sins put me back to the same place, whence the mercy of my God has drawn me by a singular favor. I can say with truth that I have more consolation here in one day, notwithstanding hunger, cold, and other almost inexplicable hardships, than I have had in all my life, whatever place in the world I have been. I have often heard Father Daniel[1] and Father Charles Garnier say that the more they saw themselves abandoned and deprived of human consolations, the more God took possession of their heart and made them experience how much His holy grace is superior to all imaginable sweetness found among creatures. The consolation which it pleased God to give me here has caused me to avow this secret and made me value the good there is in finding myself here alone among our savages, five hundred leagues from our French settlements."

These are the last words with which the Father concludes his (two) letters, which he thus dates: 'Among the Outaouak at St. Theresa Bay, one hundred leagues above the Sault, in

1. See "Hist. and Biog. Notes" for a description of the glorious martyrdom of both these Fathers.

Lake Superior, the 1st day of March, and the second of July, 1661.'

Whilst sojourning at St. Theresa (Keweenaw Bay) he heard the Indians frequently converse about four powerful tribes, living at a distance of two or three hundred leagues. They probably meant the Sioux, who are divided into several branches, possibly also the Illinois to the south. The country to be traveled is described as "an almost continual series of swamps, in which soundings had to be taken, lest one might get himself inextricably engulfed. Moreover, a full supply of provisions had to be carried along, for the traveler, winding his way through dense swarms of mosquitoes, could not find anywhere in those dismal regions means of living."

Towards those distant pagan tribes the heart of the missionary was yearning, and however doubtful the prospect of reaching them appeared, he already began to lay aside, whatever he could spare of his scanty fare.

"It is my hope," so he writes himself, "to die on the way. But, having pushed so far, and being full of health, I shall do what is possible to reach them. I hope I shall be able to throw myself among some Indians, who intend to make that journey. God will dispose of us according to his good pleasure for his greater glory, either for death or life. It will be a great mercy on the part of our loving God, if He calls me to Himself in so good a place." With these prophetic words Father Menard concludes his last letter, dated from St. Theresa Bay, July 2d, 1661.

In the next chapter we shall give the account of his sufferings and labors at said bay, and of his last journey to the headwaters of Black River in Wisconsin, where he ended his apostolic career, either by starvation, or what is very probable, by the tomahawk of some roving Indian.

The reader will excuse us for making here a slight digression. It is stated above that in August, 1660, an Ottawa flotilla of sixty canoes with 300 men arrived at Three Rivers. This flotilla was conducted by two adventurous Frenchmen,[1] in all probability, *the first white men who navigated Lake Superior, and* PERHAPS *also the first, who gazed on the limpid waters of the Upper Mississippi.*

1 See "Historical and Biographical Notes" for a detailed account of these two men's sojourn on the shores of Lake Superior, and their travels among the Indian tribes of Wisconsin and Minnesota.

Jerome Lallemant, then Superior of the Jesuits in Canada and author of the "Relation" of 1660, writes as follows:

"Hardly at home in Quebec (from Tadoussac) I found two Frenchmen just arrived from those upper countries with three hundred Algonquins, in sixty canoes laden with furs. This is what they have seen with their own eyes, and what affords us an idea of the state of the western Algonquins, having thus far spoken of those in the north.

"They have spent the winter on the shores of Lake Superior, and were happy enough to baptize two hundred little children of the Algonquin tribe, where they were first living. Those children suffered from disease and starvation; forty of them have gone straight to heaven, as they died shortly after Baptism.

"In the course of the winter our two Frenchmen made several excursions among the neighboring nations. Among other things they found, at six days' journey from Lake Superior towards the south-west, a people composed of the remnants of the Petuns, a Huron tribe, who had been forced by the Iroquois to leave their home and penetrate so far into the woods that they could not be discovered by their enemies. These poor people, wandering on their flight through great and unknown forests, over mountains and rocks, happily struck a fine river, great, broad, deep, and comparable, they say, to our great St. Lawrence (the Mississippi). Up the shores of that river they found the great nation of the Abimiwec (a misprint for Aliniouek, Illinois) who received them well. This nation is composed of sixty towns, which confirms the knowledge we already had of thousands of people that fill those westerly countries.

"But to return to our Frenchmen. Proceeding on their roundabout march, they were much surprised when, on visiting the Nadwechiwea (Nadouessioux, Sioux), they saw women disfigured by having their nose cut off as far as the bridge, so that in this part of the face they resembled a death's head. Besides, on the top of their head a round piece of scalp was torn off. Having asked for the reason of such bad treatment, they learned, with wonder, it was the law of the country that inflicted this penalty on all adulterous wives, in order that they might bear the punishment and shame of their sin on their very countenance.

"Our Frenchmen visited the forty towns, which form that

nation, in five of which they counted as many as 5,000 men. But we must take leave of this people, though quite unceremoniously, in order to enter upon the grounds of another warlike nation, which, with its bows and arrows, has made itself as formidable among the Upper Algonquins as the Iroquois are among the Lower, whence they are called Bwalak[1], that is: warriors. As timber is scarce and of small growth in their country, nature has informed them how to make fire with mineral coal and to cover their huts. Some, more industrious, make themselves dwellings of clay, in a manner as swallows build their nests; and beneath those hides and under that mud they would sleep as quietly as the great ones of the world under their golden ceilings, was it not for the fear of the Iroquois, who, in search of them, travel over a distance of 500 and 600 leagues."

CHAPTER III.

Continuation of Father Menard's Labors and Sufferings at St. Theresa Bay; His Death at the Headwaters of Black River.

We shall give the particulars of Father Menard's journey to the Hurons, on Black River, Wisconsin, and his death, as we find them in the "Relation" of 1663.

"We are going to behold a poor missionary, worn out by apostolic labors, in which his hairs have grown white, loaded with years and infirmities, exhausted by a rough and painful journey, horrible-looking from sweat and blood, dying entirely alone in the depths of the forests, five hundred leagues from Quebec, abandoned as a prey to carnivorous animals, to starvation and all miseries, and who, according to his wishes and even according to his prophecy, imitates in his death the abandonment of St. Francis Xavier, whose zeal he has perfectly imitated during life. We mean Father Menard, who for more than twenty years has labored in these rough missions, where finally, having got lost in the woods whilst running after the lost sheep, he has happily ended his apostolate by the loss of his strength, health, and life. It was not the

1. "Relation" of 1660, pp. 12, 13.

will of Heaven that any one of us should receive his last sighs; it is only the forest that are the depositaries thereof, or some cavity in a rock, into which, perhaps, he betook himself; these are the only witnesses of the last outpourings of love, which this heart all inflamed sent forth to Heaven with his soul, at a time when he was actually running to the conquest of souls.

This is the little we have learned concerning his death, from a letter from Montreal, under date of the 26th of July, 1663. "Yesterday the good God brought us thirty-five canoes of Outaouak, with whom seven of the nine Frenchmen returned. The other two, who are Father René Menard and his faithful companion, Jean Guerin, have gone elsewhere to meet sooner than the others at the sure harbor of our common fatherland. It is two years since the Father died and six months or thereabouts, since the death of Jean Guerin."

The poor Father and the eight Frenchmen, his companions, started from Three Rivers, on the 28th of August, 1660, with the Outaouak. They arrived in the Outaouak country on the 15th of October, day of St. Theresa. On their way they suffered inexplicable hardships, bad treatment from the Indian boatmen, inhuman wretches, and an extreme want of all things to live on, so much so that the Father could scarcely stand up, being moreover of a feeble constitution and broken down by hardships. But, as a person may yet go very far after being tired, so he had sufficient strength to get to the wigwams of his hosts. One named LeBrochet, chief of that family, a proud and very wicked man, who had four or five wives, treated the Father very badly. Finally, he obliged him to leave him and to make for himself a hut of fir-tree branches. O God! what a dwelling during the rigors of winter, which are almost insupportable in those countries. The nourishment was not any better. Most of the time their whole repast consisted of a small fish boiled in mere water, and that had to suffice for four or five at a time. Moreover, this puny fish itself was an alms, which the Indians gave to some one among them who waited on the beach for the return of the (Indian) fishermen's canoes, the same as poor beggars await alms at a church-door. A certain moss, which grows on rocks, often served them to make a good meal! They would put a handful of this moss into their kettle, which would thicken the water a little, forming thereon a

kind of scum or foam, like that of snails, which nourished more their imagination than their body! The remains of fish (head, entrails), which are carefully preserved whilst fish are found in abundance, served also when hard up to tease their hunger. Even pulverized bones these starving men would utilize for nourishment. Many kinds of wood furnished them with food. The bark of oak, birch, white-wood and of other trees were boiled and pulverized and then put into the water in which a fish had been boiled, or they were mixed with fish-oil, and this served as an excellent ragout! They ate acorns with more relish and pleasure than people in Europe eat chestnuts, and yet they did not get their fill. In this manner they struggled through the first winter. As to the spring and summer, they got along better, on account of a little game they hunted. They killed, from time to time, some ducks, wild geese or pigeons, which afforded them delightful banquets. Raspberries and other little berries served them as grand delicacies. Neither corn nor bread are known in that country.

But if those poor Frenchmen were destitute of nearly all that might recreate the body, they were recompensed with the consolations of heavenly grace. As long as the Father was alive, they had holy mass every day, and they confessed and received holy communion every week.

As to the death of the Father, this is what I have learned concerning it. During the winter, which he spent with the Outaouak, he started a church among those savages, a very small one indeed, but very precious, for it cost him much sweat and many tears. Hence it seemed to be composed of only predestined souls, the greatest part of whom were dying infants, whom he was obliged to baptize stealthily, for their parents used to conceal them when he would enter their wigwams, having the old erroneous notion of the Hurons, that Baptism caused their death.

Among the adults he found two old men whom grace had prepared for Christianity, the one by a mortal sickness, which robbed him of the life of the body shortly after he had received that of the soul. He expired after having made public profession of the faith and preach by his example to his relatives, who, by mocking him and his prayers, afforded him an occasion of giving proof of a very strong though newly rooted piety.

The other old man was enlightened by his blindness. Perhaps he would have never perceived the splendors of faith, had his eyes been opened to earthly objects. But God, who draws light from darkness and who delights to let us see, from time to time, traces of His Providence, arranged everything so well for this poor, blind man, that the Father came just in time to enlighten him and to open heaven to him when apparently he had already one foot in hell. He died some time after Baptism, blessing God for the graces He had bestowed upon him at the end of his days, which he had so little merited during the long course of his life, having almost attained his hundredth year.

There were also some women who added to this solitary church. Among them was a widow, who in baptism received the name of Ann, and who was looked upon as a saint by those people, although they do not know what sanctity is. Since the Father prepared her for the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar, she no longer knows what a barbarous life is, though living among a lot of barbarians. She says her prayers all alone on her knees, whilst all the family are carrying on improper discourse. She continues in this holy exercise of devotion to the admiration of our Frenchmen, who saw her during the years following her conversion just as fervent as the first day. By an example hitherto unknown among people entirely given up to impurity, she of her own account has consecrated the rest of her widowhood to chastity and that in the midst of continual abominations, with which those infamous wretches boast, of incessantly polluting themselves.

These are the fruits of Father Menard's labors. They are very trifling in appearance, but very great in reality, as it requires great courage, great zeal and a great heart to suffer hardships so great in going so far for apparently so little, though indeed, that cannot be called little which involves the question of saving even a soul, for which the son of God did not spare his sweat and blood of infinite value.

Excepting these elect the Father found nothing but opposition to the faith amongst the rest of those barbarians, on account of their great brutality and infamous polygamy. The little hope he had of converting these people, plunged in all sorts of vices, made him resolve to undertake a new journey of one hundred leagues, in order to instruct a tribe of poor

Hurons, whom the Iroquois had caused to fly to that end of the world.

Among those Hurons there were a great many old Christians who asked most urgently for the Father. They promised that at his arrival at their place, the rest of their countrymen would embrace the faith. But before starting for that distant country, the Father begged three young Frenchmen of his flock to go ahead to reconnoitre. They were to make presents to the head men of the tribe and assure them on his part, that he would go and instruct them as soon as they would send some guides to conduct him to their place.

After undergoing many hardships, the three young Frenchmen arrived at the village of this poor agonizing tribe. Entering their wigwams, they found but living skeletons, so feeble that they could scarcely stir and stand on their feet. Hence they did not think it advisable to give them the presents which they had brought along from the Father, seeing no appearance of a possibility for him to go and hunt them up so soon, without exposing himself to die of starvation with them in a few days, as they were unable to do anything for themselves and as it was a long time yet before they could harvest their Indian-corn, of which they had planted some small patches. So they soon transacted their business with those poor, famished people and took leave of them, assuring them that the Father was not to blame for their not getting instructed.

They set out on their way to return, which was a great deal harder, being obliged to go up the river in returning, whereas they had gone down stream when going to the Huron village. If they had not been young and fit for hardships, they would never have returned. A good Huron, who meant to accompany them, was obliged to turn back for fear of dying of hunger on the way. In addition to their sufferings, the canoe in which they had come was stolen from them. Had they not formerly learned to make canoes, à la Iroquois, when they were with us among that tribe, they would have perished. These Iroquois canoes are easily made of thick bark, at almost all seasons of the year. Having, therefore, finished a canoe in one day, they embarked towards the end of May (1661). Some turtles, which they found on the shores of lakes and rivers, with some pickerel

which they caught with a fishing-line, served them for nourishment during the fifteen days it took them to return to the place whence they had started.

They explained to the Father how little appearance of hope there was that a poor, old, decrepit, feeble man, like him, destitute of provisions as he was, should undertake such a voyage. But they might well parade before his eyes the difficulties of the way, by land and by water, the number of rapids and waterfalls, the long portages, the precipices to be passed, the rocks over which one must drag himself, the dry and sterile lands where nothing could be found to eat; all this did not frighten him; he had but one answer to give to these good children of his: "God calls me, I must go there, should it even cost my life. St. Francis Xavier, said he to them, who seemed so necessary to the world for the conversion of souls, died well in trying to enter China. And I, who am good for nothing, should I, for fear of dying on the way, refuse to obey the voice of my God, who calls me to the succor of poor christians and catechumens deprived of a pastor since so long a time? No, no, I do not want to let souls perish, under pretext of preserving the bodily life of a puny man, such as I am. What! must God be served and our neighbor helped only then when there is nothing to suffer and no risk of one's life? This is the most beautiful occasion to show to angels and men that I love my Creator more than the life I have from Him, and would you wish me to let it escape? Would we ever have been redeemed had not our dear Master preferred to sacrifice His life in obedience to His Father for our salvation?"

Thus the resolution was taken to go and seek those lost sheep. Some Hurons, who had come to traffic with the Outaouak, offered themselves to the Father to act as guides. He felt happy at meeting with them. He gave them some luggage to carry and chose one of the Frenchmen to accompany him. All the provisions he took along were a bag of dried sturgeon and a little smoked meat, which he had long ago saved for this intended journey.

His last adieu to the other Frenchmen whom he was leaving, was in these prophetic words: "Adieu, my dear children," said he, embracing them tenderly, "I bid you the great adieu for this world, for you will not see me again. I pray the Divine Goodness, that we may be reunited in heaven."

So he set out on his journey the 13th of July, 1661, nine months after his arrival in the Outaouak country. But the poor Hurons though they had little to carry, soon lost courage, their strength failed through want of nourishment. They abandoned the Father, telling him they were going in haste to their village to inform the headmen that he was on the way coming, and thus induce them to send some strong young men to get him. About fifteen days the Father stopped near a lake expecting help. As provisions were failing, he determined to betake himself on the way with his (French) companion, having a small canoe, which he had found in the brush.

They embarked with their little baggage. Alas! who could describe the hardships which that poor, extenuated body of his endured, during the course of that voyage, from hunger, heat, fatigue, and at the portages, where he was obliged to shoulder both canoe and packs, without having any other consolation than that of every day celebrating holy Mass.

Finally, about the 10th of August, the poor Father, whilst following his companion, went astray, mistaking some trees or rocks for others. At the end of a portage, made in order to get by a rather difficult cataract, or rapids, his companion looked back to see whether he could descry the Father coming. He seeks for him, calls him, shoots off his gun as many as five times, to bring him back to the right way, but all in vain. This made him determine to go as quickly as possible to the Huron village, which he judged to be near by, in order to hire help, at whatever cost it might be, to go and search for the Father. But unluckily he himself lost his way and went beyond the village without noticing it. He had better luck, however, when getting lost, for he met an Indian who led him back and brought him to the village; but he did not arrive there till two days after the Father had gone astray. And then, what can a poor man do, who does not know a single word of the Huron language? Still, as charity and necessity are eloquent enough, he gave them to understand by his gestures and tears, that the Father had lost his way. He promised a young man various French articles to prevail upon him to go and search for the Father. At first he made a show of being willing to do so, and actually started. Scarcely was he gone two hours, however, when he returned, shouting, "To arms! to arms! I am just after meeting with

the enemy!" At this uproar the compassion they had conceived for the Father vanished and, with it, the will to go and seek for him.

And thus behold the priest left, abandoned—but in the hands of divine providence. God, no doubt, gave him the courage to suffer with constancy, in that extremity, the deprivation of all human succour when tormented by the stings of mosquitoes, which are exceedingly numerous in those parts, and so intolerable, that the three Frenchmen who had made the voyage (to the Huron village) declare that there was no other way of protecting themselves from their bites than to run incessantly, and it was even necessary that two of them should chase away those little beasts, whilst the third was taking a drink. Thus the poor Father, stretched out on the ground or on some rock, remained exposed to their stings and endured this cruel torment as long as life held out. Hunger and other miseries completed his sufferings and caused this happy soul to leave its body, in order to go and enjoy the fruit of so many hardships endured for the conversion of savages.

As to his body, the Frenchman, who accompanied him, did all he could with the Indians to get them to go and search for it, but in vain. Neither the precise time nor the day of his death can be ascertained. The companion of his voyage thinks he died about the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (Aug. 15th, 1661), for he says the Father still had a piece of smoked meat about the size of a man's hand, which might have been able to sustain him for two or three days. Some time afterwards an Indian found the Father's bag, but he would not admit that he found his body, for fear he might be accused of having killed him, which is probably but too true, since those savages do not hesitate to cut a man's throat when they meet him alone in the woods, in hopes of capturing some booty. As a matter of fact, moreover, some articles belonging to his vestment-box were seen in a certain wigwam.[1]

Father Menard has the immortal glory of being the first priest that ever said Mass on Wisconsin soil, between the 1st and 10th of August, 1661.[2]

1. "Relation" of 1663, pp. 17-22.

2. See "Hist. and biog. notes" on the locality, where Father Menard perished.

CHAPTER IV.

Great Earthquake in Canada and its Prodigious Effects.[1]

"On the 5th of February, 1663, at half past five in the evening, a great roaring noise was heard at the same time throughout the whole extent of Canada. This noise, which sounded as if fire had broken out, made everybody run out of doors to escape such an unexpected conflagration. But, instead of seeing smoke and flames, all were much surprised to see the walls of their houses rocking and the stones stirring, as if they had become detached. Roofs appeared to bend down on one side and then on the other; bells rang of themselves; beams, rafters and boards cracked; the earth bounded, causing the stakes of the palisades to dance in a manner that would appear incredible, had we not seen it ourselves in several places.

Everybody ran out of doors, animals fled, children were crying in the streets, men and women, seized with terror, knew not whither to flee for refuge, imagining every moment they would be buried under the ruin of their houses, or ingulfed in some abyss that was opening under their feet. Some, casting themselves on their knees in the snow, cried for mercy, others passed the rest of the night in prayer—for the earthquake continued with a certain motion like that of a ship at sea, so much so, that some felt a rising in their stomach as if they were sea-sick. The tumult was still far greater in the forests. It seemed as if the trees were at war, striking against each other. Not only their branches, but even, one would have said, their trunks detached themselves from their places, to jump upon one another with a fracas and a tumbling-over that made the Indians say the woods were drunk.

Even the mountains seemed to be at war with one another. Some of them detached themselves from their base and threw themselves upon the others, leaving a vast abyss at the place in which they had previously stood. At times they would sink the trees with which they were covered, deep into the ground up to their tops; others again they would bury, branches downward, which then occupied the former place

1. "Relation" of 1663, pp. 3–5. See note on earthquake.

of the roots; thus they left nothing but a forest of trunks overturned.

Whilst this general subversion was being enacted on the land, the ice (on the river St. Lawrence) which was from five to six feet thick, broke up, going to pieces. In several places openings were made in the ice and thick fumes of smoke rose on high, or jets of mud and sand shot up high into the air; our springs ceased to run or had but water impregnated with sulphur; rivers disappeared or became wholly putrid, the water of some of them became yellow, others red. Our great river St. Lawrence looked altogether whitish as far as towards Tadoussac, a very astonishing prodigy to those who know what a great quantity of water this great river has below the island of Orleans and, consequently, how much matter it must take to whiten it.

The air was no more exempt from alterations than the waters and the land, for, besides the crackling noise that always preceded and accompanied the earthquake, fiery spectres and phantoms were seen carrying torches in their hands. Pikes and lances of fire were seen flying through the air and lighted fire-brands gliding over the houses, without doing any other harm than causing great fright wherever they appeared. People even heard plaintive and languishing voices lamenting, as it were, during the stillness of the night, and, what is very rare, sea-hogs uttering loud cries in front of Three Rivers, making the air resound with their pitiable bellowing, be it that they were real sea-hogs, or, as some think, sea-cows. A thing so extraordinary could not proceed from an ordinary cause.

They write from Montreal, that during the earthquake the palisades or stakes of enclosures were seen to jump, as if they were dancing. Of two doors of one and the same room, the one closed and the other opened of itself. Chimneys and house-tops bent like the branches of a tree agitated by the wind. When a person lifted up his foot to walk, he felt the ground following it, raising itself just as the foot was raised and sometimes striking against the sole of the foot rather roughly. They mention other things of the same kind very astonishing.

This is what they write from Three Rivers: The first shock and the most violent of all, commenced with a roaring noise like thunder. The houses had the same motion that the tops

of trees have during a storm, accompanied with a peculiar noise, which made people think that fire was crackling in the loft overhead.

The first shock lasted fully half an hour, though its greatest force held out, properly speaking, scarcely a quarter of an hour. Everyone imagined that the earth was about to open. For the rest, we have noticed that though this earthquake is, so to say, incessant, it is not equally great at all times. Sometimes it resembles the motion of a large vessel riding gently at anchor, which motion produces a certain dizziness of head; at other times the motion is irregular and precipitated by several sudden jerks, sometimes very violent, then again more moderate. The most ordinary motion consists of a slight trembling, which makes itself felt when no noise is heard and one is reposing.

According to the report of several of our French and Indian eye-witnesses, far up our river—"Three Rivers"—five or six leagues from here, both sides, which were of a prodigious height, have been levelled, being lifted from their base and upset, so as to be on a level with the water. Both those mountains with all their forests have been toppled over into the bed of the river and formed there a mighty dam, which obliged the river to change its bed and to overflow large flats, newly formed, carrying along in its course all this crumbled earth and mingling it, little by little, with the waters of the river, which are still on that account so thick and rily, that they cause all the water of the great St. Lawrence to change color. Judge how much soil it must take every day to continue for almost three months to redden the water, which is always full of mud.

New lakes are seen where there were none before. Certain mountains are no longer visible, as they have been swallowed up. Several water-falls have been leveled, and some rivers have disappeared. The earth has split in many places and opened precipices, the bottom of which cannot be found. Finally, there is such confusion of woods overturned and engulfed, that a person can see at present fields of more than a thousand arpents all razed and looking as if they had been lately ploughed, where shortly before there was nothing but forests.

We are informed from the direction of Tadoussac, that the force of the earthquake there was no less violent than elsewhere; that a rain of ashes was seen, which crossed over the river as

a great storm would have done, and that, were a person to traverse that part of the country from Cape Tourmente till there, he would see prodigious effects of the earthquake. Towards the Bay, called St. Paul, there was a small mountain situated near the river-bank, a quarter of a league or thereabout in circumference. This mountain was swallowed up and, as if it had only made a plunge, it came up again from the bottom of the water, to change itself into an islet and to make a place that heretofore had been quite surrounded by cliffs, a safe harbor against all kinds of wind. Farther down, towards Pointe-aux-Alouettes, an entire forest had detached itself from the mainland and slided into the river, exhibiting the spectacle of large, green trees, which have started to grow in the water.

For the rest, three circumstances have rendered this earthquake very remarkable. First, the time it lasted ; for it continued till the month of August, that is to say, more than six months. The shocks, it is true, were not always equally violent. In some localities, towards the mountains back of us, the scintillation and trembling were continual for a long time. In other places. for instance, towards Tadoussac, the shocks occurred generally twice or three times a day, with violent jerks. We have remarked that on high ground the agitation was less than on the low lands.

The second circumstance regards the extent of this earthquake, which we believe to have been all over New France, for we learn that it made itself felt from Isle Percée and Gaspée, which are situated at the mouth of our river (St. Lawrence) till beyond Montreal, as also in New England, Acadia and other far distant localities, so that, to our knowledge, the earthquake having occurred throughout a territory of two hundred leagues in length and one hundred in width, there were twenty thousand leagues of country, which shook all at the same time, on the same day and at the same moment.

The third circumstance in regard to this earthquake is the particular protection of God over our habitations ; for we see near us great openings (in the earth) that have been made and a prodigious extent of country entirely lost, without our losing a child or even a hair of our heads. We see ourselves surrounded with subversion and ruin, and, at the same time, have had only some chimneys demolished, whilst mountains around us have been swallowed up.

"Narrative of the Mission of the Holy Ghost among the Outaouacs at Lake Tracy, formerly called Lake Superior."[1]

CHAPTER V.

JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE OF FATHER CLAUDE ALLOUEZ TO THE LAND OF THE OUTAOUACS." (OTTAWAS).[2]

"It is two years and more since Father Claude Allouez started this large and laborious mission, for which he traveled in the whole of his voyage nearly two thousand leagues through those vast forests, suffering hunger, nakedness, shipwrecks, fatigues day and night, and the persecutions of the idolators. But he had also the consolation of carrying the torch of faith to more than twenty different pagan tribes.

We can obtain no better knowledge of the fruits of his labors than that which we gather from the journal he was obliged to write.

The narration will be diversified by the description of the places and lakes through which he traveled, the customs and superstitions of the tribes he visited and various extraordinary incidents deserving mention.

"On the eighth of August, of the year 1665, I embarked at Three Rivers with six Frenchmen, in company with more than four hundred Indians of different tribes, who were returning to their country, having got through with the little traffic for which they had come.

The devil formed all opposition imaginable to our voyage, making use of the false prejudice these Indians have, namely, *that Baptism causes death to their children.*[3] One of their leading men declared to me his will and that of his people, in arrogant terms and with threats of abandoning me on some

1. "Relation" of 1667, pp. 4-24.

2. Pronounced Oo-tah-wauk.

3. As the early Jesuit Fathers realized the absolute necessity of Baptism for salvation, they most eagerly sought to confer that Sacrament upon the dying children of Pagan parents. Seeing that their children generally died after Baptism, the natives in their ignorance and superstition attributed their death to Baptism, which they regarded as an evil charm for the destruction of their offspring.

desolate island, if I dared to follow them any further. We had then advanced to the River Desprairies,[1] when the canoe which had carried me, having been broken, made me apprehend the misfortune with which they threatened me. We worked promptly at repairing our little boat, and, although the Indians did not put themselves to any trouble, neither to help us nor to wait for us, we used diligence so great that we caught up to them at the Long-Sault, two or three days after our departure.

But our canoe, after having once been broken, could not long be of use to us, and our Frenchmen, who were very tired, already despaired of being able to keep up with the Indians, all accustomed to these great labors. This made me take the resolution of assembling them all, in order to persuade them to receive us separately into their canoes, showing them ours in so bad a condition, that it would hereafter be useless to us. They consented, and the Hurons promised, though with great reluctance, to take me aboard.

The next day, therefore, having betaken myself to the edge of the water, they gave me a good reception at first and requested me to wait a moment, whilst they were preparing for embarking. Having waited, and then stepped into the water, to get into their canoe, they pushed me back, saying they had no place for me, and immediately they began to row strongly, leaving me alone without the appearance of any human help. I prayed to God to pardon them, but my prayer was not heard, for they afterwards suffered shipwreck, and the Divine Majesty made use of this abandonment by men to preserve my life.

Seeing myself all alone, abandoned in a strange land, for the whole flotilla was already far away, I had recourse to the Blessed Virgin Mary in whose honor we had made a novena, which procured us from this Mother of Mercy daily, visible protection. Whilst I was praying I perceived, contrary to all hope, some canoes, in which there were three of our Frenchmen. I hailed them, and having taken again our old canoe, we went to work and paddled with all our strength to overtake the flotilla; but we had lost sight of it since a long time, and we did no know where to go, it being very difficult to find a small turn which had to be taken to get to the por-

1. Ottawa River, so called because a Frenchman with the name of Des Prairies was drowned in said river.

tage of Sault aux Chats (it is thus they call this place). We would have been lost had we missed this turn, but it pleased God, through the intercession of the Holy Virgin, to conduct us directly and almost without thinking of it, to this portage, where, having yet perceived but two canoes of the Indians, I jumped into the water and made them (*i. e.* his French companions) go by land to the other side of the portage, where I found six canoes. "What!" said I to them, "Is it thus you abandon the French? Do you not know that I hold in my hands the word of Onnontio[1] and that I must speak, on his part, to all your nations by the presents which he has given me in charge?" These words obliged them to help us, so that we joined the main part of the flotilla about noon.

Having disembarked, I thought it my duty in this extremity to employ the most efficacious means for the glory of God. I spoke to them all and threatened them with the disgrace they would incur from Monsieur de Tracy, whose word I carried. The fear of disobliging so great an Onnontio induced one of the foremost among them to act as spokesman, and he harangued me strongly for a long time, in order to persuade me to return. The malignant spirit made use of the weakness of this malcontent, to preclude the passage of the Gospel. The rest were of no better intention, so that our Frenchmen, having found an easy chance to embark, no one was willing to take charge of me, all of them saying I had neither the skill to paddle nor the strength to carry package.

In this abandonment, I retired into the woods and, having thanked God that He had made me feel of what little account I am, I avowed myself before His Divine Majesty but a useless burden on earth. My prayer being ended, I returned to the edge of the water, where I found the mind of the Indian who had repelled me with so great contempt, entirely changed; for, of his own accord, he invited me to get into his canoe, which I did very promptly, for fear he might change his mind.

No sooner had I embarked than he put a paddle into my hand, exhorting me to paddle, and telling me that was a great work, worthy of a chief. I willingly took the paddle and, offering to God this labor in satisfaction for my sins and for the conversion of those poor Indians, I imagined myself a male-

1. Onnontio, the Indian name given to the French Governors of Canada.

factor, condemned to the galleys, and, although I was wholly tired out, God gave me so much strength as was necessary to paddle all day and often a good part of the night. This, however, did not prevent my being made ordinarily the object of their contempt and raillery; for however hard I tried, I did nothing in comparison to them, who were large of body, robust, and made just for such labors. The little account they made of me, was the cause of their stealing my clothes from me, and I had great trouble to keep my hat, the rim of which appeared to them very good to protect themselves from the excessive heat of the sun. At night my pilot took a blanket that I had and used it for a pillow, obliging me to pass the night without any other covering than the foliage of some tree.

When, in addition to these hardships hunger comes, it is a very severe suffering, which soon taught me to take liking to *most bitter roots and rotten meat.* It pleased God to make me endure the greatest hunger on Fridays, for which I most gladly thank Him.

I had to innure myself to eat a certain moss which grows on rocks. It is a kind of leaf in the shape of a shell, which is always covered with caterpillars and spiders. When boiled, it makes an insipid, black, and sticky broth, which serves rather to keep death away than to impart life.

On a certain morning a deer was found, dead since four or or five days; it was a lucky acquisition for poor famished beings. I was offered some, and, although the bad smell hindered some of them from eating it, hunger made me take my share; but I had, in consequence an offensive odor in my mouth until the next day.

In addition to all these miseries we met with at the rapids, I used to carry packs as large as possible for my strength; but I often succumbed, and this gave our Indians occasion to laugh at me. They used to make fun of me, saying a child ought to be called, to carry both me and my baggage. Our good God did not altogether abandon me on these occasions; for often He would move some one of them to compassion, who would, without saying anything, take my box of vestments from me or some other pack that I was carrying, and thus aid me to make my way with greater ease.

It sometimes happened that, after having carried baggage and paddled all day and even two or three hours of the night, we lay down on the ground or on some rock, without supper;

to begin the same labors next day. Divine Providence, however, everywhere mingled a little sweetness and consolation with our fatigues.

We had endured these hardships about fifteen days, and had passed Lake Nipissirinien,[1] when on coursing down a small river, we heard lamentable cries and songs of death. We steered towards the place whence those cries proceeded, and saw eight young Indians of the Ottaouac tribe horribly burned by a sad accident, a spark of fire having unluckily fallen into a keg of powder. Four of them, especially, were scorched all over and in danger of death. I consoled them and prepared them for Baptism, which I would have imparted had I had time enough to see them sufficiently prepared; for, notwithstanding this misfortune, we had to keep on walking to get to the entry of the Lake of the Hurons (Lake Huron), which was the general rendez-vous of all those travelers.

On the twenty-fourth of this month (August) they met there to the number of one hundred canoes, and it was then they attended to the healing of the poor men who had been burnt, employing for this purpose all their superstitious remedies.

I plainly perceived this the following night by the songs of certain jugglers (medicine-men) resounding on the air, and a thousand other ridiculous ceremonies of which they made use. Others made a kind of sacrifice to the sun, thus to obtain the cure of those sick men; for ten or twelve of them having seated themselves in a circle, as if to hold a council, on the point of a rocky islet, they lighted a small fire, and as the smoke of this fire ascended on high, they sent up with it confused cries, which ended in a harangue, which the eldest and foremost amongst them addressed to the sun.

I could not bear the invocation of their imaginary gods in my presence, although I saw myself entirely at the mercy of all those people. I remained in doubt for some time whether it would be more proper for me quietly to withdraw, or to oppose their superstitious practices. The remainder of my journey depended upon them; if I irritate them, thought I, the devil will make use of their anger to shut against me the entrance into their country and hinder their conversion. Besides, I had already noticed how little effect my words had

1. Lake Nipissing. The Ottawas call all small inland lakes. "nibish," hence "Nipissing" a corrupt form of 'nibishing"; "irini" stands for the Chippewa word "inini" man; the whole means "Lake Nipissing people."

on their minds, and I knew that opposition would exasperate them still more. Notwithstanding all these reasons, I believed that God required this little service of me. I, therefore, proceeded to the place of this performance, leaving the success of my undertaking to his Divine Providence. I attacked the foremost of the medicine-men and, after a long disputation between us, God deigned to touch the heart of the sick man. He promised me not to tolerate any superstitious performances in order to be healed, and, calling upon God in a short prayer, he invoked Him as the author of life and death.

This victory should not be considered a slight one, being gained, as it was, over the demon within his empire, where for so many ages he had been obeyed and adored by those people. This he resented shortly afterwards and sent us the medicine-man, who yelled like a mad-man outside of our cabin and seemed anxious to vent his rage upon our Frenchmen. I prayed to our Lord, that his vengeance might not fall upon anyone else except myself, and my prayer was not in vain. We lost nothing except our canoe, which this wretch broke into pieces.

I was grieved at the same time to learn the death of one of those poor burnt men, without having been able to assist him. Nevertheless, I hope God has been merciful to him, on account of the acts of faith and contrition and several other prayers, which I taught him to say the first time I saw him, which was also the last.

Towards the beginning of September, after having coasted along the shores of the Lake of the Hurons, we arrived at the Sault. It is thus they call half a league of rapids in a beautiful river which connects two great lakes, namely that of the Hurons and Lake Superior. 1669

It is a fine river, as well on account of the islets, with which it is studded, as also on account of the fishery and chase which are very abundant there. We went to sleep on one of those islets, where our Indians thought they would find something with which to prepare supper immediately after their arrival; for, when landing, they put the kettle on the fire, expecting to see their canoe loaded with fish as soon as they would cast their nets into the water. But God wished to punish their presumption, postponing till the next day to feed those famished men.

It was thus on the second of September, after having passed the Sault, which is not a fall of water but only a very strong current, hindered in its course by a number of rocks in the bed of the river, that we entered Lake Superior, which will bear hereafter the name of Monsieur de Tracy, in acknowledgment of the obligations which the people of these countries owe him.

The shape of this lake is almost like that of a bow, the shores on the south side forming a great curve, and those of the north almost a straight line. The fishing is very plentiful in this lake, the fish excellent, and the water so clear and pure that one can see in as much as six fathoms of water what is at the bottom.

The Indians venerate this lake as a divinity and offer it sacrifice, be it on account of its great size, as it is two hundred leagues long and eighty in breadth at its widest part, or on account of its value, furnishing, as it does, the fish that supports those people in place of the chase, which is scarce in the surrounding country.

At the bottom of the water pieces of pure copper are often found, some weighing as much as twenty pounds. Several times I have seen such in the hands of the Indians. As they are superstitious, they keep these pieces of copper as so many divinities, or as presents made them by the gods who are at the bottom of the water, in order to procure them good luck. For this reason they keep these pieces of copper, wrapped up in cloth or buckskin, among their most precious goods. There are some who have kept such pieces of copper more than fifty years, others have them in their families from times immemorial[1] and cherish them as household gods.

For some time a large rock, as it were, wholly of copper, has been seen, the point of which projected out of the water, giving occasion to those passing by to cut off pieces of the ore. When I passed the place, however, nothing more was seen of it. I think the storms, which here are very frequent and similar to those on the ocean, have covered the rock with sand. Our Indians wished to make me believe it was

1. See "Hist. and biog. notes," where it is related that an Indian chief of La Pointe had such a piece of copper, which had been kept in his family over three centuries.

a divinity which had disappeared for some reason they did not tell.

For the rest, this lake is the resort of twelve or fifteen different Indian tribes, some coming from the North, others from the South, and still others from the West; and all betake themselves either to such places along the shore most suitable for fishing, or to the islands, which are very numerous in all quarters of this lake. The design these people have in coming here, is partly to make a living by fishing, partly to carry on their little traffic with one another when they meet. But God's design was to facilitate the announcement of the gospel to these wandering tribes, as will appear in the course of this journal.

Having then entered Lake Tracy (Superior), we were engaged the whole month of September in coasting along the south shore. I had the consolation of saying holy Mass, as I now found myself alone with our Frenchmen, what I had not been able to do since my departure from Three Rivers.

Having thus consecrated these forests by this holy action, to complete my joy God led me to the edge of the water, there to meet with two sick children whom they were taking on board to proceed toward the inland with them. I was strongly moved interiorly to baptize them, and, having taken all necessary precautions, I did so, as I saw they were in danger of dying during the winter. I made nothing more of all past hardships and welcomed starvation, which always followed closely on our heels, as we had nothing to eat, except what our fishermen, who were not always lucky, could furnish us from day to day.

We afterwards passed the bay called by the aged, venerable Father Menard, Saint Theresa Bay. There it is that this generous missionary spent the winter, laboring with the same zeal which afterwards caused him to give his life in running after souls. Near by I found some remains of his labors. They were two Christian women, who had always kept the faith and who shone like two stars in this night of paganism. I had them pray to God after refreshing in them the memory of our mysteries.

The devil, who is without doubt very jealous of this glory rendered to God in this empire of his, did all he could to prevent me from coming here. Not having been able to succeed, he managed to get some manuscripts I carried along,

which were of value to me for instructing those pagans. I had enclosed them in a small box, along with some medicines for the sick. The malignant spirit, foreseeing that such would be of great service to me for the salvation of the Indians, made some efforts to cause me to lose this box; for once it fell overboard into the seething waters of a certain cataract; another time it had been left at the lower end of a portage; it passed into different hands seven or eight times. Finally it came to the possession of the sorcerer, whom I had rebuked at the entrance of the lake of the Hurons. Having opened it, he took what suited him, and then abandoned it, leaving it open to the rain and to those passing by. God deigned to put to shame the malignant spirit and to make use of the greatest medicine-man of these regions, a man of six wives and of a most dissolute life, to restore this box to me. He handed it to me, when I no longer thought of it, telling me that the theriac and other medicines, as also some pictures which were in the box, were so many Manitous or devils, who would kill him, if he should dare to touch them. I afterwards found, by experience, how much these writings, in the language of the country, served me for their conversion.

CHAPTER VI.

On the Arrival of the Missionary and his Stay at the Bay of the Holy Ghost, called Chagaouamigong.

After having traveled one hundred and eighty leagues on the south shore of Lake Tracy, during which our Saviour often deigned to try our patience by storms, hunger, daily and nightly fatigues, *we finally, on the first day of October, 1665, arrived at Chagaouamigong*, for which place we had sighed so long. *It is a beautiful bay,*[1] *at the head of which is situated the large village of the Indians*, who there cultivate fields of Indian corn, and do not lead a wandering life. There are at this place men bearing arms who number about eight hundred; but these are gathered together from seven different tribes, and live in peaceable community.

1. See "Hist. and biog. notes" in regard to the site of the old Jesuit chapel, on La Pointe du Saint Esprit.

This great number of people induced us to prefer this place to all others for our ordinary abode, in order to attend more conveniently to the instruction of these heathens, to put up a Chapel there and commence the functions of Christianity.

At first we could only put ourselves under a roof of bark (live in a wigwam made of bark) where we were so often visited by these people, of whom the greater part had never seen a European, that we were overrun by them. The instructions which I gave them were continually interrupted by people going and coming, which made me resolve to go and see them myself in their respective wigwams, where I talked to them about God more at ease, and instructed them more leisurely in all the mysteries of our faith.

Whilst I was attending to these holy works, a young Indian, one of those who had been burnt by the explosion of the keg of powder, as related above, came to see me and asked to become a Christian, assuring me that he in real earnest wished to be baptized. He related something that happened to him, of which people may think as they like. "I had no sooner obeyed you," said he to me, "sending away the sorcerer, who wanted to cure me with his jugglery, than I saw Him who made all things, of whom you spoke to me, and He said to me in a voice which I heard distinctly: "You will not die of the burning, because you have listened to the Black Gown." Scarcely had He finished speaking than I felt myself wonderfully strengthened and I had great confidence that I would be restored, which you now see in fact, as I am perfectly healed." I have good hopes that He who has effected the healing of the body will not abandon that of the soul. I am the more confident of this, because this Indian came to seek me of his own accord, in order to learn prayers and to receive the necessary instructions.

Not long afterwards I know we sent to heaven a child, still in its swaddling clothes, that died two days after I had given it holy Baptism. Saint Francis, whose name it bore, no doubt, presented this innocent soul to God, as *the first fruit of this mission.*

I do not know what will be the lot of another child I baptized immediately after its birth. Its father, who was of the Outaouac tribe, summoned me as soon as it was born, and even came to tell me himself that I should baptize it as soon as possible, in order to make it live long. Wonderful

thing in these Indians, who heretofore believed that baptism caused death to their children, and now they are under the impression that it is necessary to them, in order to procure them a long life. This gives me more access to these children, who often come to me in crowds, to satisfy their curiosity in looking at the stranger, but much more so to receive without thinking of it, the first seeds of the gospel, which will yield fruit in due time in these young plants.

CHAPTER VII.

General Council of the Tribes of the Outaouac Country.

The Father having arrived in the country of the Outaouacs, found them disturbed by the fear of a new war which they were about to wage with the Nadouessi (Sioux), a warlike tribe who in their battles use no other arms than the bow and war-club.

A party of young warriors were already being formed under the leadership of a certain chief, who, having been offended, did not take into consideration whether the revenge he was eager to take, might not cause the ruin of all the villages of his country.

In order to prevent these misfortunes, the old men of the tribe, convened a general council of ten or twelve of the neighboring tribes, all of whom had something at stake in this war, in order to arrest the tomahawk of these rash men by means of the presents they would make them in so good a company.

The Father was also invited for this purpose, and he went at the same time to speak to all those tribes in the name of Monsieur de Tracy, whose three words he carried, with three presents, the interpreters of said words [1]

This whole great assembly having given him leave to address them, he said "My brethren, the business that brought me into your country is very important and deserves that you listen to my words with extraordinary attention. It concerns nothing less than the preservation of your whole country and the destruction of all your enemies." At these words the

1 See "Hist. and Biog. notes" for an account of the three presents sent by the French governor to the Upper Algonquin tribes, and their meaning.

Father having found them very much disposed to listen to him attentively, he told them about the war which Monsieur de Tracy had undertaken against the Iroquois, how he was going to bring them back to their duty by the force of the king's arms and thus to render commercial intercourse secure between us and them (i. e. between the French and Lake Superior tribes), and to clear all the highways to the French settlements of those river-pirates, forcing them either to accept a general peace or, otherwise, see themselves totally destroyed. And it was here the Father took occasion to speak of the piety of his Majesty, who wished that God should be known throughout all his dominions, and who did not like people under his sway, who were not obedient to the Creator of the Universe. He then explained to them the principal articles of our faith and spoke to them strongly on all the mysteries of our religion, in a word he preached Jesus Christ to all those tribes.

It is, no doubt, a great consolation to a poor missionary, when, having traveled five hundred leagues amid fatigues, dangers, hunger, and all kinds of miseries, he sees himself listened to by so many different tribes, announcing the Gospel to them and dispensing the words of salvation, of which they have never heard before.

These are the seeds which for some time remain in the ground and do not yield fruit immediately. It is necessary to go and gather them in the wigwams, in the forests and on the lakes, and that is what the Father did, who was found everywhere, in their cabins, at their embarkings, on their voyages; and everywhere he found children to baptize, sick to prepare for the Sacraments, old Christians to confess, and Pagans to instruct.

One day revolving in his mind the obstacles to the faith, considering the condition and depraved customs of all those tribes, the Father felt himself moved interiorly during the holy sacrifice of the mass, to ask of God, through the intercession of St. Andrew, whose feast the church was celebrating that day (Nov. 30) that his Divine Majesty would deign to make known to him the day for establishing the Kingdom of Jesus Christ in these countries in place of paganism; and from that day God gave him to understand the great obstacles he would meet with, so as to steel him more and more against those difficulties, as will become sufficiently clear in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

On the False Gods and Superstitious Customs of the Indians of that Country.[1]

This is what Father Allouez relates in regard to the customs of the Outaouacs and other tribes, which customs he has studied very carefully, not relying upon the accounts given him by others, but having seen himself and noticed all that he left in writing.

"There is here," says he, "a false and abominable religion, similar in many things to that of some ancient pagans. The Indians here do not acknowledge any Sovereign Master of Heaven and Earth. They believe that there are many manitous, some of whom are beneficent, as the sun, the moon, the lake, the rivers and woods; others malevolent, as for instance snakes, the dragon, cold, storms, and in general all that appears to them useful or injurious they call a manitou and they render to such objects the worship and veneration which we give to the true God alone.

They invoke them when they go to hunt, to fish, to war or on a voyage. They offer them sacrifices with ceremonies only used by such as offer sacrifice.

An old man from amongst the foremost of the village performs the functions of a pagan priest. He begins with a studied harangue which he addresses to the sun, if the sacrifice is offered in its honor, and they get up a feast at which all has to be consumed by the guests. This is accordingly something like a holocaust. He loudly declares that he returns thanks to that luminary for giving him light, luckily to slay some animal. He implores it and exhorts it for the sake of this feast, to continue its loving care for his family. During this invocation all the guests eat until the last bit is consumed, after which, a man appointed for that particular office, takes a cake of tobacco, breaks it in two and throws it into the fire. All present raise a great outcry, whilst the tobacco is being consumed by the fire and the smoke going up, and with these clamors the whole sacrifice ends.

"I have seen an idol," says the Father, "set up in the middle of a village, to which, among other presents, they offered

1. See "Hist. and Biog. notes," where the reader will find an article on Indian superstitions, war-dance and religion, taken from Perrot's "Memoire."

ten dogs in sacrifice, that this false god might vouchsafe to banish elsewhere a malady which was depopulating the village. All of them went there daily to make their offerings to this idol according to their needs."

Besides these public sacrifices, they have private and domestic ones; for in their wigwams they often throw some tobacco into the fire, with a kind of exterior offering which they make to their false gods.

During storms and tempests they sacrifice a dog to the lake, which they throw into its waters, saying: 'Here is something to pacify thee; be still!' In dangerous places on rivers they strive to propitiate the eddies and falls by offering them presents. So much are they persuaded that they really honor their pretended divinities by this exterior worship, that those amongst them who have been converted and baptized, make use of these same ceremonies in worshipping the true God until they are disabused of their error.

For the rest, as these people are dull, they do not acknowledge any deity purely spiritual. They believe that the sun is a man and the moon is his wife; that snow and ice are also human beings, who go away in spring and come back again in winter; that the devil dwells in snakes, dragons, and other monsters; that crows, hawks and some other birds are manitous and talk as well as we do, pretending there are some Indians who understand their language just as some of them understand a little French.

Moreover, they believe that the souls of the departed govern the fishes in the lake, and hence, at all times, they have believed in the immortality of the soul, even holding the doctrine of metempsychosis, that is, the transmigration of the souls of deceased fishes, for they believe that they again pass into the bodies of other fishes. For this reason they never throw the remains of fish they have eaten into the fire, for fear of displeasing the shades of those fishes, so that they might not come into their nets any more.

They entertain a particular veneration for a certain imaginary animal, which they have never seen except in dreams. They call it Missibizi, and consider it a great manitou, to which they offer sacrifice to obtain good luck, when they go fishing for sturgeon.

Moreover, they say the little pieces of copper-ore which they find at the bottom of the lake, or in the rivers that

empty into the lake, they are the riches of the gods who dwell in the bowels of the earth.

"I have learned," says the Father who found out all these follies, "that the Ilinioueк, the Outagami and other Indians towards the south, believe that there is a great and excellent manitou, master of all the rest, who made heaven and earth and who resides in the east, towards the country of the French."

The source of their religion is libertinism, and all their superstitious sacrifices generally end in feasts of debauchery, improper dances, and infamous concubinage. The men employ all their zeal in having many wives and exchanging them whenever it suits them; the women, in leaving their husbands, and the girls, in living dissolutely.

They shrink not from suffering much on account of those foolish divinities, for they fast in their honor to ascertain the issue of affairs. "I have seen some of them," says the Father, "with compassion, who, designing to go to war or to hunt, spend eight days in succession hardly partaking of any food, and that with such fixed determination, that they would not desist until seeing in a dream what they so much desired, as, a herd of moose, or a band of Iroquois put to flight, or something similar. This is not very hard for a poor fellow with empty brains, wholly exhausted by fasting, and who thinks of nothing else all day long but what he wants to dream about.

Let us say something about the medical art as practiced in this country. Their knowledge of medical science consists in ascertaining the cause of sickness and applying the remedy.

They think the ordinary cause of sickness comes from having failed to make a feast after a lucky fishing or hunting, for the sun, which likes feasts, gets angry at the person who has failed in his duty and makes him sick. Besides this general cause of sickness there are certain particular ones, namely, certain little manitous, malevolent by nature, who manage to get in of themselves, or who by some enemy are put into those parts of the body which are sick the most. Thus, for instance, if a person feels a headache, a pain in his arms or in his stomach, it is a manitou, they say, that has got into those parts of the body, and he will not cease to torment the sick man, until some one has either pulled him out or banished him.

Hence the ordinary remedy is to call the medicine-man, who comes in company with some old men with whom he holds a kind of consultation as to the malady that afflicts the sick man. Then he casts himself upon the part affected, and applies his mouth, pretending to suck from it a little stone, or the end of a string, or something else, which he had beforehand concealed in his mouth, and, showing it to the sick man, he says: "Here is the manitou that has been causing you pain! See, your are now cured! There is nothing to be done but to get up a feast."

The devil, who is eager to torment these poor, blind people even in this world, has inspired them with another remedy in which they have great confidence, which is to take the patient by his arms and make him walk, with naked feet, over the burning coals of the wigwam. If he happens to be too weak to walk, four or five men bear him up and make him walk slowly over the fire. This often causes a greater evil to cure a minor one, or it causes them not to feel the lighter one, the smart of the burning caused by walking on the lighted coals, rendering them insensible to other infirmities or troubles.

After all, the most common remedy, as it is the most profitable to the doctor, or medicine-man, is to get up a feast in honor of the sun, believing that this luminary, being fond of liberality, will be appeased by a magnificent repast, and will look upon the sick man with a gracious eye to restore him to health.

All this shows how far these poor people are from the kingdom of God. But He who can touch hearts as hard as stone, can make them children of Abraham and vessels of election. He can cause Christianity to be born in the bosom of idolatry, and with the light of faith, enlighten even savages plunged in the darkness of error and in an ocean of debauchery. This will be known from the account of the missions the Father established in that remote end of the world during the first two years he dwelt there.

CHAPTER IX.

ACCOUNT OF THE MISSION OF THE HOLY GHOST AT LAKE TRACY.

After a hard and disagreeable voyage of five hundred leagues, during which miseries of all kinds were met with, the Father, having gone towards the extremity of the great lake, there found an opportunity to exercise the zeal which had enabled him to endure so many hardships in founding the missions, of which we are about to speak. Let us begin with that of the Holy Ghost, which is the place where he resided. This is what he says of it:

"This section of the lake shore, where we have settled down, *is between two large villages* and is, as it were, the centre of all the tribes of these countries, because the fishing here is very good, which is the principal source of support to these people.

We have erected here a small bark chapel, wherein my whole occupation consists in receiving the Christian Algonquins and Hurons, instructing them, baptizing and catechizing their children; admitting pagans who, attracted by the novelty of the thing, assemble here from all parts of the country, speaking to them in public and in private, combatting their idolatry, making them see into the truths of our faith, and thus suffering no one to depart from me without having first sowed some seeds of the Gospel into his soul.

God gave me the grace to make myself understood by more than ten different tribes, but I confess it is necessary to beg Him for patience, even before daylight, in order to suffer joyfully the contempt, raillery, importunity and arrogance of these savages.[1]

Another occupation I have in my Chapel is to baptize sick children, which the Pagans themselves bring to me, in order to get medicine from me, and since I see that God restores these innocent little children to health after Baptism, I am in hopes He intends to make them, as it were, the foundation of his church in these quarters.

I have hung different pictures in the chapel, for instance, of Hell and the General Judgment, which supply me with

1. The Father uses the present tense frequently and the adverb *here*, in these articles, showing that the notes, which he copied into his journal, were written on the shores of Chequamegon Bay.

subjects for instruction very suitable to the capacity of my hearers. In this manner I have no difficulty afterwards to make them attentive, *to make them chant the "Our Father" and "Hail Mary," in their language*, and to take the lead in the prayers I have them say after each instruction. All this attracts so great a number of Indians to instruction, that from morning till night I see myself happily obliged to do nothing else.

God gives his blessing to these beginnings. Sins of impurity are less frequent now among the young. Girls, who previously did not blush at the most shameless actions, are reserved in their behavior and observe the modesty so becoming to their sex.

I know many of them, who, when solicited to sins against purity, boldly answer that they pray to God, that is to say, are Christians, and that the Black Gown forbids them these debaucheries.

A young girl of ten or twelve years came to me one day, to ask to become a Christian. "My little sister," said I to her, "you do not deserve it. You know very well what was said of you some months ago." "It is true," she answered, "I was foolish at that time and did not know that what I was doing was bad, but since you told us so, and I began to pray, I have not done it any more."

The first days of 1666 were employed in presenting New Year gifts to the Infant Jesus, which, no doubt, were very pleasing. This present consisted of several children, whom their mothers, receiving a very extraordinary inspiration from God, brought to me to have them baptized. So this small congregation was increasing little by little. Seeing they were already imbued with our mysteries, I judged it time to transfer our little chapel to the large village, three-fourths of a league distant from our dwelling-place, and composed of from forty-five to fifty large wigwams of all tribes, where there are as many as two thousand souls.[1]

It was just at the time of their greatest debaucheries, and I can say, in general, that I saw in this Babylon the perfect picture of libertinism. I did not omit laboring here the same way as in our first place of abode and with the same success. But the malignant spirit, being envious of the good which

1. The writer is of the opinion that this large village of 2,000 souls was on the southeast end of Chequamegon Bay, between Fish Creek and Ashland.

the grace of God effected here, caused diabolical juggleries to be performed every day right near our chapel for the healing of a sick woman. These juggleries consisted of nothing else than superstitious dances, hideous masquerades, horrible clamors and a thousand buffooneries. I did not fail to go and see her every day, and, in order to attract her by kindness I made her a present of some grapes. At last the sorcerers having declared that her soul had departed and that they had no hopes of her getting better, I went to see her next day and told her that this was not true, and that I even hoped she would be cured, provided she would believe in Jesus Christ. But I could not make any impression on her mind. Hence I determined to speak to the sorcerer himself who attended her. He was so surprised to see me at his place, that he seemed wholly dumfounded. I showed him the follies of his art and that he contributed more to the death of his patients than to prolonging their lives. In reply he threatened to make me feel their effect by certain death. A little after, having begun his jugglery, he kept at it for three hours. From time to time he would cry out in the midst of his ceremonies the Black Gown would die of their effects; but through divine grace, all was in vain. God even knew how to draw good from evil; for the medicine-man, having himself sent two of his children to have them baptized, they received by means of the sacred waters of Baptism, at one and the same time, the cure of both soul and body.

The next day I visited another celebrated sorcerer, a man who had six wives and who lived in such disorder as may be imagined in company of this kind. I found in his wigwam a small army of children. I sought to acquit myself of the duties of my ministry, but in vain. This is the first time I saw Christianity mocked in these quarters, especially in what concerns the resurrection of the dead and the fire of hell. I left with this reflection: "Ibant Apostoli gaudentes a conspectu concilii, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati."[1]

The insults I received in that wigwam soon became known outside and were the cause of others treating me with the same insolent affronts. Already they had broken away a part of the bark, that is of the walls of our church; already they

1 "The Apostles went rejoicing from the sight of the council, because they had been judged worthy to suffer insult for the name of Jesus."

had commenced to rob me of all that I had; the young assembled more and more and became the more insulting; and the word of God was listened to only with scorn and derision. This obliged me to abandon this post, in order to return to our ordinary dwelling-place, having this consolation when leaving them, that Jesus Christ had been preached and the faith announced both publicly as also to each Indian individually, for besides those who filled our chapel from morning till night, the others who stayed at home in their wigwams, were instructed by such as had heard me.

I have heard them myself in the evening, after all had retired, repeat understandingly, in the tone of a chief, the whole instruction I had given them during the day. They admit indeed, what I taught them is very reasonable, but libertinism over-rules reason, and if grace be not very powerful, all our instructions have but little effect.

One of them having come to see me, in order to be instructed, at the first word I said to him concerning the two wives he had, said to me: "My brother, you are speaking to me of a very difficult affair; it is enough that my children pray to God, i. e. become Christians, instruct them."

After I had left that *place of abomination*, God led me about two leagues away from the site of our dwelling, where I found three adults, who were sick, and whom I baptized after sufficient instruction. Two of them died after Baptism. The secrets of God are wonderful, and I could relate several instances of the same kind, which show His loving Providence for the elect.

CHAPTER X.

On the Mission of the Tionnontateheronnons.

The Tionnontateheronnons[1] of to-day are the same people, who were formerly called the "Hurons of the Tobacco Tribe." They were obliged, like other tribes, to leave their country to flee from the Iroquois, and to withdraw towards the end of this large lake, where distance and lack of game served them as protection against their enemies.

1 Pronounced Tee-on-non-tah-tay-her-on-nons, Hurons of the "Tobacco Nation." See "Hist. and Biog. Notes" in regard to that tribe. They seem to have dwelt on the southwest end of Chequamegon Bay, between the head of the bay and Washburn.

Formerly they formed a part of the flourishing church of the Hurons and they had the aged Father Garnier for their Pastor, who so courageously gave his life for his dear flock; hence they cherish a particular veneration for his memory.

Since their expulsion from their own country, they have not been trained in the exercise of the Christian religion; hence they are Christians rather by condition (having been baptized in their native country) than by profession. They glory in that beautiful name; but the intercourse they have had with pagans for so long a time, has almost effaced from their minds every vestige of religion and caused them to resume many of their ancient customs. They have their village pretty near our place of abode, which makes it possible for me to attend to this mission with greater assiduity than the others farther away.

I have, therefore, endeavored to restore this mission to its former state, by preaching the word of God and by the administration of the sacraments. The very first winter I passed with them, I conferred Baptism on one hundred children and, subsequently on others during the first two years that I attended them. The adults approached the sacrament of Penance, assisted at the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, said prayers both in public and in private,—in a word, they practiced their religion as if they had been very well instructed. It was not difficult for me to reëstablish piety in their hearts and reawaken the good sentiments they used to have for the faith.

Of the children baptized, God only deigned to take two that flew away to heaven after their Baptism. As to the adults, there are three for whose salvation it seems God sent me here.

The first was an old man, an Ousaki (Sac) by birth, formerly an eminent man amongst those of his tribe and who had always been esteemed by the Hurons, by whom he had been taken captive in war. A few days after my arrival in this country, I learned that he was sick about four leagues distant. I went to him, instructed and baptized him, and three hours afterwards he died, leaving me all possible indications that God had bestowed mercy on him.

If my voyage from Quebec had had no other fruit than the salvation of this poor old man, I would consider all my steps but too well recompensed, since the Son of God shed even the last drop of His blood for him.

The second person, of whom I have to speak, is a woman very far advanced in age. She was detained about two leagues from our dwelling-place, by a dangerous sickness, caused by a bag of powder accidentally taking fire in her wigwam. Father Garnier[1] had promised her baptism more than fifteen years ago, which he was ready to confer when he was killed by the Iroquois. This good Father did not forget his promise. Like a good Shepherd, he procured by his intercession that I should be here before she died. I went to see her the day of All Saints (Nov. 1st), and, having refreshed her memory on all our mysteries, I found that the seeds of the word of God, sowed in her soul so many years ago, had produced fruit, which only awaited the waters of Baptism to come to maturity. Having well prepared her, I conferred this Sacrament upon her, and that very night she resigned her soul to her Creator.

The third person is a young girl, fourteen years of age, who diligently attended all the catechetical instructions I gave, and joined in the prayers which I had them say, of which she had learned a good many by heart. She fell sick. Her mother who was not a Christian, called the sorcerers and had them perform all the follies of their infamous trade. I heard about it, went to seek the girl and made her a proposal of Baptism. She was overjoyed to receive it; after which, child though she was, she opposed all the juggleries they tried to perform around her, saying by her Baptism she had renounced all those superstitions; and in this generous combat she died, praying to God until she breathed her last sigh.

CHAPTER XI.

On the Mission the Outaouacs,[2] Kiskakoumac and Outaouasinagouc.

I here join these tribes because they have one and the same language, which is the Algonquin; and compose one and the same village, which is opposite that of the Tionnontateheronnons, between which two villages we reside.

1 See "His. and Biog. Notes," where the martyrdom of this saintly priest is described.

2 See "Hist. and Biog. Notes." Outaouasinagouc pron. Oo-tah-wah-sin-ah-gook. Their village was probably located at the southeast corner of Chequamagon Bay.

The Outaouacs claim that the great river (the St.Lawrence) belongs to them, and that no tribe may navigate it without their consent. For this reason all of those who go to traffic with the French, although of very different tribes, bear the general name of Outaouacs, under whose auspices they make their voyage.

The ancient abode of the Outaouacs was a certain tract on the lake of the Hurons, whence the fear of the Iroquois drove them, and towards this their native country tend all their desires.

These people have very little inclination to the faith, because they are most strongly addicted to idolatry, to superstitious practices, to fables, polygamy, instability of marriages, and to every kind of libertinism which causes them to smother all natural feelings of shame. All these obstacles did not, however, prevent me from preaching the name of Jesus Christ and announcing the Gospel in all their wigwams and in our chapel, which is filled from morning till night. Here I give them continual instructions on our mysteries and on the commandments of God.

The first winter I spent with them, I already had the consolation of baptizing about eighty children, some of them boys and girls from eight to ten years, who by their assiduity in coming to prayers had rendered themselves worthy of this happiness. What contributes much to the baptism of these children, now very common, is that these sacred waters not only do not cause death, as they formerly supposed, but, on the contrary, give health to the sick and restore the dying to life. As a matter of fact, God has taken to himself but six of all the children baptized, and left the others to serve as a foundation to this new church.

As to the adults, I did not think it proper to baptize many of them, because their superstition, so deeply rooted in their minds, opposed a powerful barrier to their conversion. Among the four whom I judged to be well prepared for this sacrament, Divine providence manifested itself plainly in the case of one poor sick man, who lived two leagues from our dwelling place. I did not know he was sick, nevertheless I felt myself interiorly urged to go and see him, notwithstanding the little strength and health I had. I went as far as a hamlet a good league distant from us, where I found nobody sick, but where I was informed of another hamlet farther

distant. Notwithstanding my weakness I thought God required me to go there. I proceeded thither with a great deal of suffering and found this dying Indian, who only awaited baptism, which I gave him after the necessary preparation. Happily he had heard the instructions I gave during the winter, when he came to our chapel with others, and by his diligent attendance rendered himself deserving of this mercy of God.

During the summer of this same year I was occupied, especially, in assisting the sick of this mission. I baptized three whom I found in danger, two of whom died in the profession of Christianity. God conducted me to some of the wigwams just in time to confer baptism on eleven sick children, who had not as yet the use of reason, of whom five went to enjoy God in Heaven. Of seventeen other children whom I baptized during autumn and the following winter, only one died, going to Heaven almost at the same time that a good old blind man expired, three days after his baptism.

CHAPTER XII.

On the Mission of the Pouteouatamiouec.

The Pouteouatami[1] are a tribe who speak Algonquin, but very much harder to be understood than the Outaouacs. Their country is at the lake of the Illimouec (Illinois, Lake Michigan). It is a large lake, which, as yet, is not well known by us, adjoining the lake of the Hurons and that of the Puants (Green Bay) between the east and south. They are a war-like people, hunters and fishermen. Their country is very good for Indian corn, fields of which they cultivate and thither they willingly retire, in order to escape famine, so common in this country. They are extremely idolatrous, attached to ridiculous fables, and fond of polygamy. We have seen them here to the number of three hundred men, bearing arms. Of all the tribes with whom I have had to deal in these regions, they are the most docile and the most friendly towards the French. Their women and daughters

1 Pronounced Poo-tay-wau-tah-mee. See "Hist. and Biog. Notes," where the reader will find a short sketch of that tribe. They are now mostly settled in Kansas and Ind. Terr. and a few in Wisconsin and Michigan.

are more reserved in their disposition than those of other tribes. They have some refinement of manners and show it towards strangers, a rare thing amongst our Indians. Having once gone to see one of their aged men (probably an old chief) he looked at my shoes, made according to the French mode. Impelled by curiosity, he asked me to take them off and let him examine them at his ease. When he handed them back to me he would not suffer me to put them on myself, but I was obliged to accept this service from him. He wished even to tie my shoe-strings, with the same tokens of respect that servants show to their masters. "See," said he "it is thus we serve those whom we honor."

Another time, having gone to see him, he rose from his seat to offer it to me with the same ceremonies that politeness demands from gentlemen.

I have publicly announced the faith to them at the general assembly spoken of above, which was held a few days after my arrival, and privately in their wigwams during the month I stayed with them here, and then during the whole autumn and winter following, in which time I baptized thirty-four of their children, nearly all in their cradle. For the consolation of this mission I must say the first one of these tribes to take possession of Heaven in the name of all its countrymen was a Pouteouatami child that I baptized shortly after my arrival here, immediately before its death.

During the same winter I received five adults into the church. The first was an old man of about one hundred years, whom the Indians looked upon as a kind of divinity. He used to fast twenty days in succession and had visions of God, that is to say, according to these people, of Him who made the earth. He fell sick, however, and was nursed by his two daughters with an assiduity and love beyond the comprehension of the Indians. Among other services they rendered him, they would repeat to him in the evening the instructions they had heard during the day at our chapel. God deigned to make use of their filial love for the conversion of their father. When I went to see him I found him acquainted with our mysteries and the Holy Ghost working in his heart by the ministry of his daughters, he vehemently begged to be made a Christian. This I granted him by conferring Baptism without delay, seeing him in danger of death. Thenceforth he would not have any juggleries

practiced about him for his cure, nor would he hear any other conversation than that which concerned the salvation of his soul. Once when I admonished him often to pray to God, "Know," said he, "my brother, I continually throw tobacco into the fire, saying: 'Thou who hast made Heaven and earth, this I do to honor Thee.'" I contented myself with making him understand that it was not necessary to honor God in such a way, but only by speaking to Him with mouth and heart. Afterwards, the time having come when the Indians require that one do their wishes by a ceremony very much resembling the Bacchanalia or the carnival, our good old man made them search throughout all the wigwams for a piece of blue stuff, wishing for that because it was the color of Heaven, "towards which," he said, "I desire always to direct my heart and my thoughts." I never saw an Indian who was more willing to pray to God. Among other prayers he repeated the following with extraordinary fervor: "My Father, who art in heaven; my Father, may thy name be sanctified." These words contained more sweetness for him than those I suggested—"Our Father, who art in Heaven." Seeing himself one day so far advanced in age, he exclaimed of himself in the sentiment of St. Augustine: "Too late have I known Thee, O my God; too late have I loved Thee!" I doubt not that his death, which soon followed, was precious in the eyes of God, who had suffered him to remain in idolatry for so many years, reserving but a few days for him to end his life in this Christian manner

I must not omit mentioning something rather surprising. The day after his death his relatives, contrary to all the customs of this country, burned his body and wholly reduced it to ashes. The cause of this was a fable, here regarded as a fact. They maintain that the father of this old man was a hare that during the winter walks on the snow, and, consequently, the snow, the hare and the old man are from the same village, that is to say, relatives. They add that the hare once said to his wife he did not like their children to dwell in the bowels of the earth, because that was not suitable to their condition as relatives of the snow, whose country is on high towards heaven; and should it ever happen that they were put under ground, after death, he would pray to his relative, the snow, to fall in such quantity and stay

so long that there would be no spring, in order thus to punish the people for their fault. In confirmation of this yarn they add that three years ago the brother of our good old man died at the beginning of winter, and, having been buried as usual, the snow was so plentiful and the winter so long, that people despaired of seeing the spring in season. Great numbers were dying of hunger, yet no help could be obtained for this public calamity. Hereupon the leading men assembled, held several councils, but all in vain; the snow kept on all the time. Finally one of the assembly said he remembered the threats above-mentioned, and immediately they set about disinterring the body. Having burned it, the snowing ceased at once and spring approached. Who would think people could believe things so ridiculous, and yet these Indians regard them as incontrovertible facts.

Our good old man is not the only one of his house to whom God showed mercy. His two daughters, who were instrumental in the cause of his salvation, were, no doubt, drawn to Heaven by his prayers. One of them having been seized with an illness that lasted five days, God so directed my steps that I came to her assistance just in time to promote her eternal happiness, having been unable to go to her place until the evening before her death. I had sufficient time to prepare her for holy Baptism, which she received and then departed to enjoy with her good father the glory she had been the means of procuring him. The other daughter has survived both her father and sister, and she seems to have inherited their piety. I found this woman so intelligent, so modest, and so well disposed toward the faith, that I did not hesitate to receive her into the church by imparting the sacraments. All the family of this happy neophyte, which is numerous, possess this goodness of disposition, which seems natural to them. They all have a tender affection for me, and showing me the greatest respect, call me their uncle. I hope God will be merciful to them all, for I see they are inclined to religion beyond the generality of Indians.

Among the wonderful things wrought by God in this mission, we can also state what occurred regarding another family of this tribe. A young man, in whose canoe I had embarked when coming to this country, toward the end of winter was seized with a contagious disease then prevailing. I tried to show him as much charity as he had done me evil

on the way. Being a man of some note, no kind of jugglery was spared to cure him. They went so far with these performances, that at last they came to tell me two dog-teeth had been extracted out of his body! "That is not the cause of his illness," said I to them, "but the corrupt blood in his body;" for I believed he had the pleurisy. I went to work, however, to instruct him in good earnest, and the next day finding him well disposed, I baptized him, giving him the name of Ignatius, in hopes this great saint would put to shame the malignant spirit and the medicine-men. In fact I had him bled, and, showing the blood to the medicine-man, who was present, I said to him: "See what is killing this man; you ought to have drawn all this corrupt blood from him by your grimaces and not your pretended dog-teeth." But the medicine-man having noticed the alleviation which the bleeding had given the patient, wished to claim the glory of his cure for himself. He accordingly made him take a kind of medicine, which had such an unhappy effect, that the sufferer remained as if dead for three hours. His death was, therefore, publicly announced throughout the village and the medicine-man, very much alarmed on account of this accident, confessed he had killed the poor man, and begged me not to abandon him. In fact he was not abandoned by his patron, St. Ignatius, who restored him to life in order to confound the superstitions of these pagans.

Before this young man recovered, his sister was taken down with the same malady. We had more access to her for performing our holy functions, on account of the fortunate occurrence regarding her brother. I had a good opportunity to prepare her for baptism, and, besides this grace, the blessed virgin, whose name she bore, obtained the recovery of her health.

Scarcely was she out of danger when the prevailing disease also seized their cousin in the same wigwam. He appeared to me to be more dangerously ill than the two others had been. Hence, I hastened to baptize him, after imparting the necessary instructions. The effects of this sacrament had already improved his condition, when his father concluded to make a feast, or rather to offer a sacrifice in honor of the sun, in order to obtain the recovery of his son. I surprised them in the midst of the ceremony, and,

embracing my sick neophyte, to make him understand that God alone is master of life and death, he repented immediately and rendered satisfaction to God by the sacrament of Penance. Then addressing his father and all the medicine-men, I said to them: "Now I despair of the health of this sick man, since you have had recourse to others than to Him who holds life and death in his hands. You have killed this poor sick man by your impious performances. I no longer entertain any hopes of his recovery." In fact, he died sometime after, and I hope God accepted his temporal death as a penance for his sin, so as not to deprive him of eternal life, which, we may trust, he obtained through the intercession of St. Joseph, whose name he bore.

The gain is more secure on the part of the children, seventeen of whom I baptized toward the close of this mission, which I was obliged to end on account of the departure of these people, who having reaped their Indian-corn, retired to their country. On leaving they invited me most urgently to come to their place in the following spring. May God be forever glorified by these poor people, who, at length, have recognized Him, they who from old did not know any divinity greater than the sun.

CHAPTER XIII.

On the Mission of the Ousakiouek and Outagamiouek.

I here subjoin these two tribes successively, because they mingle with the preceding, being allied to them, and, besides, they have the same language, which is the Algonguin, although very different in many idiomatic expressions which makes it hard for one to understand them. Still, after some efforts, they understand me at present and I them sufficiently to instruct them.

The country of the Outagami[1] is southward toward the lake of the Illimouec (Illinois, Lake Michigan). They are a

1 Pronounced Oo-tah-gan-mee. The reader will find a short dissertation on this once most powerful tribe of Wisconsin in "Hist. and biog. notes." For thirty years nearly all the Outagami (Fox) tribe have lived in Tama County, Iowa, and in 1883, 368 was the estimate population. In the Indian territory a census of mixed Sacs and Foxes was made in 1883, and 437 was the number.—("Minn. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 33.")

populous tribe, about one thousand men carrying arms, hunters and warriors. They have fields of Indian-corn and reside in a country well adapted for hunting lynx, deer, moose and beaver. They are not in the habit of using canoes, but generally travel by land, carrying their baggage and their game on their shoulders. These people are as much addicted to idolatry as other tribes. Having one day entered the wigwam of an Outagami, I found his father and mother dangerously sick, and, having told him that a bleeding would cure them, this poor man took some tobacco, reduced to powder, and threw it all over my garment, saying: "Thou art a manitou; take courage, restore these sick people to health; I offer thee a sacrifice of this tobacco." "What are you doing my brother," I said to him, "I am nothing, He who has made all thing is the master of our lives; I am only his servant." "Well, then," he answered, strewing tobacco on the ground and lifting up his eyes, "it is to Thee, who hast made heaven and earth, that I offer this tobacco; give health to these sick."

These people are not far from the knowledge of the Creator, for they are the same that told me, as related above, that in their country they acknowledged a great manitou, who made heaven and earth and who dwelt toward the country of the French. It is said of them and of the Ousaki, that when they find a man wandering about, lost and at their mercy, they kill him, especially if he be a Frenchman, whose beard they cannot endure. This kind of cruelty renders them less docile and less disposed for the gospel than the Pouteouatami. Nevertheless I have not failed to announce the gospel to one hundred and twenty persons, who spent a summer here. I did not find any one among them sufficiently disposed for baptism. I conferred it upon five of their sick children, however, who afterwards recovered their health.

As to the Ousaki[1] they above all others may be called savages. They are very numerous, but wandering about in the woods without any fixed abode. I have seen about two hundred of them and announced the faith to them. I baptized eighteen of their children, to whom the sacred waters were salutary both for body and soul.

1 Pronounced Oo-sau-kee, Sacs. It seems they were a very barbarous and cruel race. It was probably by a Sac Indian that Father Menard was killed. See "Hist. and Biog. Notes." They were allies of the Foxes and enemies of the French.

CHAPTER XIV.

On the Mission of the Illimouec or Alimouec.

The Illimouec[1] speak Algonquin, but very different from that of all the other (Algonquin) tribes. I understood them but very little, having little conversation with them. They do not dwell in these quarters. Their country is more than sixty leagues distant southward, *beyond a large river, which empties, as far as I am able to conjecture, into the ocean, towards Virginia.*[2] These people are hunters and are war-like. They use the bow and arrow, seldom a gun and never a canoe. They were once a populous tribe, distributed in ten large villages, but at present they are reduced to two. The continual wars, on the one side with the Nadouessi, on the other with the Iroquois have almost exterminated them.

They acknowledge several manitous to whom they offer sacrifice and practice a kind of dance, quite peculiar to themselves. They call it "The dance of the filling of the pipe" (Calumet dance), which they perform in this manner: Ornamenting a large pipe with plumes of feathers, they place it in the middle of the chosen spot, with a certain kind of veneration. One of the company arises and begins to dance, then yields his place to a second. he to a third, and so on, in single succession. One would take this dance for an imitation of a ballet, danced to the notes of a drum. The dancer goes through a sham battle, at the same time keeping time to the notes of the drum in the various positions of the body, He prepares his weapons, takes off his clothes, runs about in search of the enemy, he discovers him, withdraws, then approaches; now he sounds the war-whoop, kills the enemy, tears off his scalp and returns, chanting the song of victory. All this proceeds with astonishing precision, promptitude and agility. After all have thus danced around the pipe, it is presented to the foremost man of the assembly to smoke, then to another, and so on successively until all have had the honor. This ceremony has the same signification as when at

1 Pronounced Il-lee-moo-ek. the Illinois, some of whom came all the way to Chequamegon Bay to trade with the French and Indians. A band of that tribe resided on the Upper Fox river, not far from the site of Portage City. See "Hist. and Biog. Notes."

2 Father Allouez means the Mississippi, the course of which river was at that time unknown, hence Marquette's voyage in 1673.

a social gathering in France all drink successively out of one and the same glass. The pipe, moreover, is left in the hands of the chief of the tribe, as a sacred deposit and an assured guarantee of the peace and union which shall always exist between them as long as this pipe—the calumet of peace—remains in his possession.

Among all the manitous to whom they offer sacrifice, special worship is paid to one particular manitou more excellent, they say, than all the rest. because it is he who made all things. They have an intense desire to see this greatest of all manitous, and hence they observe long fasts, hoping to obtain by this means, that God will show himself to them during their sleep. If it happen that they see him (as they imagine) they consider themselves lucky, and promise themselves a long life.

All these tribes of the South have this same desire to see God, which is doubtless of great advantage to promote their conversion, for all that remains to be done is to instruct them as to the manner in which we are to serve him, in order to see him and be happy.

I have here announced the name of Jesus Christ to eighty persons of this tribe, and they have carried and published it to all the country of the South, with applause, so that I can say on this mission I have worked the least and produced the greatest effect. These pagans honor our Lord, *whose picture I gave them*, in their own peculiar way. Having exposed the sacred image in the most conspicuous place, they prepare a great feast, and the master of this banquet, addressing the image, says: "It is in thy honor, O God-man, that we make this feast; it is to Thee we offer these viands."

Among these people, it appears to me, there is the most beautiful field for the Gospel. If I had had leisure and convenience, I would have gone to their place of abode, to see, with my own eyes, all the good that is told of them.

I find those with whom I have had intercourse, to be affable and humane. It is said, when they meet a stranger, they raise a cry of joy, caress him, and render him every proof of friendship of which they are capable. I have baptized but one infant of this tribe. The seeds of faith that I have sown in their souls will yield fruits when it shall please the Master of the vineyard to gather them. Their country

is hot and they raise corn twice a year. There are rattlesnakes there, which are often the cause of death, as these people do not know of any antidote. They have a high estimate of medicines, offering them sacrifices, as to great manitous. They have no forests in their country, but very large prairies on which wild cattle, deer, bears and other animals feed in great numbers.

CHAPTER XV.

On the Mission of the Nadouessiouek.[1]

They are people living westward from these quarters, towards the large river called Messipi. They are about forty or fifty leagues distant in a prairie-country abounding in all kinds of game. They have fields in which they do not plant Indian corn, but tobacco only. Providence has supplied them with a kind of marsh rye (wild rice) which they go and gather towards the end of summer in certain small lakes, where it grows abundantly. They know so well how to prepare it, that it is very agreeable to the taste and very nourishing. They offered me some, when I was at the extremity of Lake Tracy, where I saw them. They do not use guns, but only the bow and arrow with which they shoot very dexterously. Their cabins are not covered with bark, but with deer-skins, well-dressed, and sewed so nicely that the cold cannot penetrate. *These people, above all others are savage and ferocious.* They appear dumfounded in our presence, like statues. They do not cease to be warlike, having waged war with their neighbors, by whom they are very much feared. They speak an altogether strange language. The Indians here do not understand them; hence I was obliged to speak to them by an interpreter, who, being a pagan, did not do what I would have wished (that is, he did not interpret well what the Father said.) I have not failed to take from the devil one innocent soul of that country. It was a little child that went to paradise shortly after I baptized it. "*A solis ortu usque ad occasum laudabile nomen Domini.*" God will give us an opportunity to announce

1 See "Hist. and Biog. Notes," where the reader will find an account of this most warlike tribe, "The Iroquois of the West."

his name in that country, when it shall please his Divine Majesty to show mercy to those people; they are almost at the end of the earth so to speak. Farther on, towards sunset, there are other tribes called Karesi, beyond whose country, they say, the land comes to an end, and nothing is seen but a large lake, the waters of which are stinking; it is thus they speak of the sea.

Between north and west there is a tribe that eat raw meat, contenting themselves with holding it to the fire in their hands. Beyond the country of this people lies the sea of the north. Moreover in that direction are the Kilistinons, whose rivers empty into the Bay of Hudson. We have knowledge, besides, of the Indians who inhabit the regions of the south as far as the sea. So there remains only a small tract of land, and only a few tribes, to whom the gospel has not been announced, as yet, if we can believe what the Indians have told us several times in regard to these matters.

CHAPTER XVI.

On the Mission of the Kilistinons[1] and that of Outchibouec.[2]

The Kilistinons have their more ordinary place of abode in the vicinity of the Sea of the North. They navigate a river that empties into a large bay, which we suppose very probably to be that marked on the map with the name of Hudson; for those that I have seen from that country have told me they have knowledge of a *ship*, and an old man amongst others, told me he had seen it himself at the entrance of the river of the Assinipoualac,[3] a tribe allied with the Kilistinons, whose country is still more towards the north.

He told me, besides, that he had seen a *house* that Europeans had built on the mainland of *boards* and pieces of wood; that

1 Kilistinons, sometimes also called Kenisteno, are Indians in British America, now generally called Crees. See "Hist. and Biog. Notes."

2 Pronounced Oo-chee-boo-ek—Chippewas. They were once a large and warlike tribe, the deadly foes of the Sioux and Foxes, but always friendly to the French, who freely intermarried with them; hence the many half-breeds with French names. See "Hist. etc."

3 The Assineboines, from "Assin," a stone—and "Boines" or "Eboines" a corruption of "Bwan"—Sioux.

they held books in their hands, such as the one he saw me have, when telling me this. He spoke to me of another tribe, adjoining that of the Assinipoualac, who eat people, and live only on raw meat, but they themselves are eaten by bears of a horrible size, all red, which have prodigiously long claws; it is considered probable they are lions.

As to the Kilistinons, they appear to me extremely docile and of a good, kind disposition, not common among these savages. They are more nomadic than all the other tribes. They have no fixed abode, no (cultivated) fields nor villages. They only live of hunting and a little oats (wild rice) which they gather in swampy places. They are worshippers of the sun, to which they generally offer sacrifice, attaching a dog to the top of a pole, which they leave hanging there until he rots.

They speak almost the same language as the tribe formerly called Poissons-blanc—White Fish—and the Indians of Tadoussac. God gave me the grace to understand them and to be sufficiently understood by them for their instruction. They had never heard of the faith, and the novelty of the thing as also their docility of mind caused them to listen to me with very great attention. They have promised me to worship only Him who is the Creator of the sun and of the world. The wandering life they lead made me postpone the baptism of those whom I saw (otherwise) very well disposed and I only conferred this sacrement upon a little girl lately born.

I hope this mission will some day produce fruit in proportion to the labor which will be bestowed upon it, when our fathers will go and winter with them, as they do at Quebec with the Indians of Tadoussac. They invited me to do so, but I cannot devote myself entirely to one tribe and deprive so many others of the assistance I owe them, as they are nearest this place and best prepared for the gospel.

On the mission of the Outchibouec—the French call them "Saulteurs," because their country is the "Sault," by which Lake Tracy (Superior) empties into the Lake of the Hurons. They speak the ordinary Algonquin and are easily understood. I have preached the faith to them on different occasions, when I met with them, but especially at the extremity of our great lake, where I stopped with them a whole month, during which I instructed them in all our mysteries and

baptized twenty of their children, as also one sick adult, who died the day after his baptism, carrying to heaven the first fruits of his nation.

CHAPTER XVII.

On the Mission of the Nipissiriniens and of the Voyage of Father Allouez to Lake Alimibegong (Nepigon).

The Nipissiriniens were formerly instructed by our fathers, who dwelt in the country of the Hurons. These poor people, of whom great numbers were Christians, have been compelled on account of the incursions of the Iroquois to flee as far as Lake Alimibegong, which is but fifty or sixty leagues fron the Sea of the North (Hudson Bay).

For almost twenty years they have not seen a pastor, nor heard speak of God. I thought I owed a part of my labors to this old mission, trusting that a voyage I would make to their new home, would be followed by the blessings of heaven.

On the 16th day of May of this year, 1667, I embarked in a canoe with two Indians, who were to serve me as guides during the whole of this voyage. Having met on our way some forty Indians from the Bay of the North, I imparted to them the first tidings of the faith, for which they thanked me with some show of politeness.

Continuing our voyage, on the 17th we crossed over a part of our great lake[1] (Superior) paddling for twelve hours without intermission. God assisted me very sensibly; for there being but three in our canoe, I had to paddle with all my strength, together with the Indians, in order not to lose any time of the calm, without which we would be in great danger, being all of us tired out with the exertion and hunger. Notwithstanding all this, we lay down to sleep without supper, and the next day we contented ourselves with a meagre repast of Indian-corn and water; for the wind and rain prevented our Indians from casting their nets.

1 Father Allouez left his mission at the head of Chequamegon Bay on the 16th of May, and on the 17th crossed the lake, probably starting from Sand Island. As it took them twelve hours hard paddling to reach the North Shore, we may safely conclude that the lake must be some forty miles wide where they crossed: a risky undertaking in a frail birch bark canoe!

On the 19th, the fine weather being inviting, we made eighteen leagues, rowing from day-break until after sun-down without stopping or disembarking.

On the 20th, having found nothing in our nets, we continued our way, grinding some grains of dry corn with our teeth. The next day (21st) God refreshed us with two small fishes, which gave us a little life. The benediction of heaven was multiplied the following day (22d), for our Indians took such a lucky draught of sturgeon, that they were obliged to leave some of them on the beach.

On the 23d, coasting along the shores of this great lake, on the north side we proceeded from island to island, for these are very numerous. There is one of them at least twenty leagues long, where pieces of ore are found, considered by the French to be true red copper, they having tested its quality.

After traveling a long distance on the lake (from 16th-25th of May), we finally left it on the 25th of this month of May, and entered a river full of rapids and falls, so very numerous that even our Indians could not proceed any farther. Having learned that Lake Alimibegong was still frozen, they willingly took a rest of two days, to which they were compelled by necessity.

While we were advancing toward our destination, we from time to time met Nipissirinien Indians, who had strayed away from the place of their habitation, to seek a living in the woods. Having assembled quite a number of them for the feast of Pentecost, I prepared them, by a long instruction, to understand the holy sacrifice of the mass which I celebrated in a chapel constructed of green boughs. They heard it with as great piety and gravity as our Indians of Quebec do in our chapel at Sillery. This gave me the sweetest refreshment I had during this voyage, and consoled me abundantly for all past hardships.

I must here relate a remarkable thing, that happened not long ago. Two women, a mother and her daughter, after being instructed in the faith, have always had recourse to God and have continually received extraordinary help from Him. Recently they again experienced that God never abandons those who confide in Him. They had been captured by the Iroquois and had luckily escaped the fire and cruelties of those savages. But shortly afterwards they fell into their

hands a second time, so that no hope of further escape could be entertained. However, seeing themselves alone one day, with a single Iroquois Indian who had remained to guard them, whilst the others were gone to hunt, the daughter said to her mother: "Now is the time to rid ourselves of this guard and flee." So she asked the Iroquois for a knife to work at a beaver-skin which she had been ordered to dress. Hereupon having implored the help of Heaven, she plunged the knife into the bosom of the Iroquois, and her mother struck him on the head with a stick of wood. Leaving him a corpse, according to all appearance, they took some provisions and hastened on their way to their own country, which they finally reached in safety.

We were six days traveling from island to island, seeking for a passage, and, finally, after many turns, we arrived at the village of the Nipissiriniens on the 3d of June. It is chiefly inhabited by idolatrous Indians and some Christians of former time. Amongst others, I found twenty persons who made public profession of Christianity. I was not in want of employment among both the one and the other party, during the fifteen days that we stayed with them, and I labored as much as my health, ruined by the hardships of the voyage, allowed me. I found more opposition there to baptizing their children than anywhere else; but the more opposition the devil makes, the more should we try to confound him. I think he does not at all like to see me making this last voyage, which is about five hundred leagues, going and returning, including the turns out of the way, which we were obliged to make.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Father Allouez Goes to Quebec—He Returns to the Outaouacs.

During the two years that Father Allouez has dwelt with the Outaouacs, he has become acquainted with the customs of all the tribes he has seen, and has carefully studied the means to facilitate their conversion. There is work there for a good number of missionaries, but nothing to support them. The Indians live part of the year on the bark of trees,

another part on ground fish-bones, and the rest of the time on fish or Indian-corn, sometimes having only a little of the one or the other, at other times enough. The Father has learned from experience that even a brazen constitution could not hold out amid continual labors and hardships so great, with nourishment so very scanty; therefore he considers it necessary to have at those places men of courage and piety, to work for the support of the missionaries, either by cultivating the land, or by industrious fishing and hunting. They are to build dwelling-houses and erect chapels, in order to astonish those Indians who have never seen anything more beautiful than their bark wigwams.

With this view the Father determined to go to Quebec himself in order to promote the execution of these designs.

He arrived there on the 3d day of August of this year, 1667. Having stopped there only two days, he arranged matters with diligence so great that he was ready to depart from Montreal with twenty canoes of Indians, with whom he had come, and who awaited him at that island with great impatience.

His attendance consisted of seven persons, namely, himself and Father Louis Nicolas, to labor conjointly for the conversion of these people, and one of our brothers, together with four men to work for the support of the missionaries. But God willed not the success of this undertaking; for, when about to embark, the Indians were in such ill humor that only the fathers and one of their men could find place in their canoes. But so unprovided are they with provisions, clothes and all the other necessaries of life, which indeed they had in readiness, but which could not be taken on board, that there is good reason to doubt whether they can reach the country to which they are bound, or whether, after arriving there, they can subsist long.

CHAPTER XIX.

On the Mission of the Holy Ghost Amongst the Outaouacs.

"It is not necessary to repeat the enumeration of all the missionary stations dependant upon this mission, of each one of which was spoken of in the last "Relation."[1] Suffice it to say that labors, famine, want of all things, bad treatment on the part of the savages, ridicule from the idolators —such are the most precious lot of those missions.

Since these people, for the greater part, have never had any intercourse with Europeans, it is difficult to imagine the excess of insolence to which their barbarism impels them, and the patience one must be armed with to bear such treatment.

It is necessary to deal with twenty or thirty tribes, differing in language, manners, and policy. All must be endured from their bad humor and brutality, in order to gain them by sweetness and affection. It is necessary in a measure to make oneself an Indian with those Indians : to subsist sometimes on a kind of *moss* which grows on rocks, at other times on *pulverized fish bones* which take the place of flour—occasionally *on nothing at all*, passing *three or four days without eating*, like the Indians themselves, whose stomachs are accustomed to such hardships of starvation ; but they, without incommoding themselves, can eat enough in one day for eight, when they have an abundance of game or fish. Fathers Claude Allouez and Louis Nicolas have passed through these trials, and if penance and mortification contribute much towards the conversion of souls, they assuredly lead a life more austere than that of the greatest penitents of Thebaide, and yet do not cease to devote themselves indefatigably to their apostolic functions—to baptize children, instruct adults, console the sick and prepare them for heaven, to overthrow idolatry and make the sound of their word heard in this extreme end of the world.

Father Marquette[2] has gone to render assistance, together with Brother Louis le Bœme, and we hope the sweat of these

1 Relation of 1668, pp. 21, 22.

2 Marquette went as far as Sault Ste. Marie in 1668 and took charge of the Indians assembled there until late in the summer of the following year. He arrived at the head of Chequamegon Bay Sept. 13th, 1669. See a short sketch of his life in "Hist. and Biog. Notes."

generous missionaries bedewing those lands will render them fertile for heaven. They have baptized within a year eighty children, of whom many are in paradise. It is this that assuages all their sufferings and fortifies them to undergo all the labors of that mission.

Providence, moreover, permits them to taste sweet consolation when Indians get sick unto death, whom they then prepare for eternal life.

This is what happened in the person of one of the foremost men of those people, who, having been baptized several years ago, had no fixed dwelling place, but leading a nomadic life, roamed throughout those great forests from end to end, over five or six hundred leagues of country. Nevertheless God so well directed the last year of his life that, contrary to his custom, he resolved to spend the winter near the residence of Father Allouez, no doubt through a presentiment of his happiness, in order to be assisted in his last sickness by this good Father, who did not fail to attend this poor old man. When he was at the point of death, he prepared a farewell feast for a great assembly which had been convoked for that purpose from different tribes. This was done to keep up a custom of theirs, of which he made good use in the interests of faith. He addressed this multitude in a dying voice it is true, but in the tone of a chief and in energetic words, declaring that he had long lived a Christian, and, in dying a Christian, he felt assured of gaining the eternal happiness promised to all believers; but that they who were not willing to hear the word of God would be tormented by demons after death more cruelly, beyond comparison, than an Iroquois is tortured who has fallen into their hands; that for the rest, he died willingly in the hope of paradise, and admonished them, if they were wise, to defer no longer to follow his example. After these words, dictated by the love he had for his countrymen, he thought in good earnest of himself, and, having confessed as often as four times, he gave up his soul, leaving us every reason to believe that God had shown him mercy.

Other examples of a similar nature might be related to show the ways of divine Providence for the salvation of His elect. For us it remains to coöperate faithfully with this great work and to go in search of those straying sheep, however far away they may happen to be and whatever trouble

it may cost us; too happy shall we be to consume our lives in this good work.

Some of these tribes, it is true, have appeared at our settlements (on the St. Lawrence) this summer (of 1668) to the number of more than six hundred, but this was like a mere streak of lightning, to carry on their little traffic with our French people, and such a time is not suitable to instruct them. It is necessary therefore to follow them to their homes and accommodate oneself to their ways, however ridiculous they may seem, in order to draw them to our way of thinking and acting. And as God made himself man in order, as it were, to make gods of men, so a missionary does not fear to make himself, so to say, an Indian with the Indians, in order to make them Christians: "*Omnibus omnia factus sum.*" "I have become all to all."

CHAPTER XX.

On the Mission of La Pointe du Saint Esprit in the Country of the Algonquin Outaouacs.

"[1]The mission of the Outaouacs is at present one of the most beautiful of New France. The want of all things, the brutal character of the Indians there, its remoteness of three or four hundred leagues, the number of tribes there, and the promise recently made to Father Allouez, that a whole tribe would embrace the Christian faith, after holding a general council; all those things awaken a most ardent desire for that mission in the hearts of all our missionaries.

Father Allouez having come down to Quebec this year[2] (1669) in order to hand over to Monsieur de Courcelles the captive Iroquois, whom of his own accord he had redeemed from the Outaouacs, and to ask assistance from our Fathers, the lot happily fell upon Father Claude Dablon, who has been sent to be the Superior of all those upper missions, and this, notwithstanding the great amount of good he effected here and the pressing need they had of his services.

1 Relation of 1668 p. 17-20, See "Hist. and biog. notes" for short notice on Father Claude Dablon.

2 After this second voyage of Father Allouez to Quebec, in 1669, he did not return to his mission at the head of Chequamegon Bay, but, after arriving at Sault Ste Marie, he remained there till Nov. 3d, when he departed for the Bay of the Puants (Green Bay), where he arrived on the 2d of Dec. 1669.

The first settlement to be met with, of those upper tribes, who are almost all Algonquins, is the Sault, more than two hundred leagues from Quebec. It is there our missionaries have fixed their abode, it being the most convenient place for their Apostolic labors, as the other tribes are in the habit of going there, for several years since, in order thence to proceed to Montreal or Quebec, to trade. The missionaries have located at the foot of the rapids of the river on the south side, about the 46th degree of latitude. It is a good thing the cold is not as great there as here, although we are almost in the same degree of latitude.

Another place, one hundred and fifty leagues from the Sault, which has been particularly chosen for preaching the gospel, is called La Pointe du Saint Esprit. The occasion of establishing that mission was the Iroquois war, which drove the greater part of the Indians of the upper country from their native land and induced them to assemble there. Father Allouez found this great number of tribes in one village, and he took advantage of this flight which had brought together so many people and which divine Providence had thus arranged for him, to announce our mysteries to these tribes, and thus justify the divine word; there being no place so remote in this New World, wherein this Father has not tried to make the gospel heard.

God has found some elect amongst every tribe during the time in which the fear of the Iroquois kept them assembled there (at La Pointe du Saint Esprit). But, finally, the danger having passed, each tribe returned to its country; some to the Bay of the Puants (Green Bay), others to the Sault, where our missionaries have determined henceforth to make their headquarters. The rest have remained at La Pointe du Saint Esprit. It is designed to build three Churches in these three principal places of this extreme end of the world. Two in fact, are already erected, namely, the one at La Pointe du Saint Esprit and the other at the Sault. Father Allouez is preparing himself to go to the Bay of the Puants on his return from Quebec, there to establish the third Church.

Never did the gospel have a more beautiful opening in that country and nothing is wanting there at present, except laborers; for the harvest is as abundant as it can be. The Iroquois tribe, to whom three of their captive countrymen have been restored and to whom the rest are also to be sur-

rendered, will be very glad to keep peace with the Outaouacs, as they are at war with the Mohikans[1] and Andastogues. They even write to us from Montreal that the Onnontagueronnons will next spring go to the Sault, as embassadors, to confirm the peace by presents. Thus the way will be open to French commerce and gospel-laborers. Still, those people being of a very changeable mind, we have always reason to fear that peace will not be of long duration.

As La Pointe du Saint Esprit has until now (1669) been the seat of all those upper missions, I am about to speak of the progress of the Gospel and the establishment of the kingdom of God in that place. I must not omit, however, to speak at the same time, of the great obstacles that are encountered there.

The dissimulation, which is natural to those Indians, and a certain deferential disposition, with which children in that country are brought up, induce them to approve (apparently) of all that is said to them, and prevents them from ever contradicting the sentiments of others, even when they know that the statements made to them are false. To this dissimulation must be added obstinacy in adhering to their own ideas and desires. This obliges our Fathers not to receive adults for baptism very readily, who, moreover, have been raised in idolatry and libertinism.

"But, finally, God gave me to understand, after many trials," says Father Allouez in his journal and in one of his letters, written from the Sault on the 6th of June, 1669, "that it has pleased his Divine Majesty to show mercy to a particular tribe, the whole of which is desirous to embrace the Christian faith. This tribe, called Queues Coupeés (or Kiskakong), is one of the most populous—a peaceable tribe, an enemy of war. Otherwise, these people are so inclined to raillery, however, that they have hitherto ridiculed our faith, as if it were mere children's play. They received their first knowledge of the Gospel at the great Lake Huron, their real country, at the time our Fathers were there. They were subsequently instructed in their present place of abode (Lake Superior country) by the aged Father Menard; and these

1 Mohikan, Mohegan.Chippewa "Ma-in-gan" Wolf, one of the "Six Nations" of New York, so called because the wolf was their totem, as the bear was that of the Mohawks. The Stockbridge Indians of Wisconsin claim to be descendants of the ancient Mohikans, or Mo-he-kun-nucks.

instructions were finally continued by Father Allouez during the two or three years that he dwelt with them (at La Pointe du Saint Esprit). They did not, however, embrace the faith until last summer, when the sachems of the tribe harangued in its favor in their wigwams and at their councils and feasts.

"It is this," says Father Allouez, "that obliged me to pass the winter with them at La Pointe du Saint Esprit, in order to instruct them. In the beginning, having been called to one of their councils, I acquainted them with the news that two Frenchmen had just brought me, telling them that, after all, I saw myself obliged to leave them and go to the Sault, because during the three years I had been with them, they would not embrace our holy faith, there being only children and some women who were Christians. I declared, besides, that I would leave the place at this very hour, and would shake the dust off my shoes. In fact, I took off my shoes and did so in their presence, to show them that I was about to leave them altogether, not wishing to carry anything of theirs with me, not even the dust that sticks to my shoes. I informed them, moreover, that the Indians at the Sault had called me, wishing to become Christians, and that I was going to them, in order to instruct them; but if they in some years did not become Christians, I would treat those at the Sault in the same manner.

During the whole of this discourse I read in their countenances the fear I had awakened in their hearts. Leaving them to deliberate, I withdrew immediately, resolved on going to the Sault. But an accident having detained me through a special providence of God, I soon witnessed the change effected in them, a change which can only be attributed to an extraordinary stroke of grace. With unanimous consent they abolished polygamy, as also the sacrifices they had been in the habit of offering to their manitous, refusing, moreover, to attend any of the superstitious performances practiced by the other tribes in the neighborhood. In a word they showed a fervor similar to that of the primitive Christians and a very great assiduity in all the duties of true believers. They have all come to live near our chapel, in order to make it easier for their wives and children to attend the instructions given them, and not to lose a day without going to the church to pray to God.

This, in general, is the state of the mission of La Pointe du Saint Esprit. I shall now relate in detail some of the most remarkable conversions. An old man, who died on Christmas-day, after having been prepared for death, will make the beginning.

The Indians told Father Allouez that, after his baptism, this old man had a vision of two roads, one of which led upwards, the other downwards. He had taken the one leading upwards, as he told them himself, but he had great trouble to follow it, as it was very narrow and rugged. The downward road, he said, was very wide and beaten, the same as a trail going from one Indian village to another.

I cannot in silence pass over the baptism of the first adult of that tribe. As he was their chief, a man of intelligence and fit for Christianity, he was the first one to harangue in favor of the Christian religion publicly, saying the mysteries preached to them were true, and that he, for one, had resolved to obey the Father. His name was Kekakoung. This holy liberty of speech in favor of the faith has stirred up all of them, and moved them to receive the Gospel.

A certain man of sixty years did not have much difficulty in becoming a Christian. He told Father Allouez that during all his life he had recognized a great manitou who in himself contained heaven and earth; that he had always invoked Him in all his sacrifices, and that in pressing necessities he had received help from Him. He received the name of Joseph in baptism.

The example of another old man confirms the same thing. With deep sentiments of gratitude towards this sovereign manitou who preserved him, he relates that, when leaving their country, these Indians were obliged to flee on the ice of the great lake of the Hurons in order to escape the Iroquois and starvation, which followed them everywhere. They had no provisions and only nourished their families with fish, which they speared every day under the ice. Now, it happened that sixty of their people, wandering about on the ice seeking for something to eat, were carried away on a large field of ice which had become detached by the violence of the wind. More than one-half of them died of hunger or cold, but this old man was preserved on his cake of floating ice for a space of thirty days, and finally he managed to get on another field of ice, and thence to reach land, being unable

sufficiently to thank that manitou more powerful than famine, cold, ice, winds and tempests, to whom he had addressed his prayers.

When he heard God spoken of for the first time, he recognized at once that that was the powerful manitou who had preserved him, and he determined henceforth to obey him in all things.

Finally, Father Allouez relates in his journal, that another man of the same age could not contain his astonishment that he had lived so long without the knowledge of the true God. Oftentimes when being instructed, he would say: "Is it possible that we old men, who have a little understanding, have so long been so blind as to take for divinities such things as every day serve for our use?" One hundred persons of this tribe, partly adults, partly children, have already received baptism. As to the Hurons, who had fled to this country (La Pointe du Saint Esprit), thirty-eight have been baptized. It is calculated, moreover, that there are more than one hundred persons of the other tribes to whom baptism has been given.

A woman forty-four years of age, showing great constancy and a singular love for our holy faith, has finally received baptism. The continual occasion of sin to which she was exposed, and the persecutions she suffered on account of her beauty, made us at first fear to give her baptism; but her generous behavior (under these trials) merited this grace, for her. She, moreover, declares publicly that she will never marry. She was confirmed in this resolution by what she had once heard from Father Allouez concerning the virginity of the Blessed Virgin, as also the vow of chastity that women in religious orders make. She has returned to her country with this holy thought in her mind, where she will have the Holy Ghost for her sole director, until it shall please God to send there some missionary.

Father Marquette writes to us from the Sault that the harvest there is very abundant, and that it only depends upon the missionaries to baptize all that are there, to the number of two thousand. But thus far they have not ventured to trust those people, since they are too complaisant of disposition, so that there is reason to fear that they might continue their ordinary superstitious practices even after baptism. The missionaries apply themselves, above all, to instruct them and to baptize the dying, who are a more secure harvest.

CHAPTER XXI.

On the Mission Among the Outaouacs and Especially of the Mission Sault Sainte Marie.

We[1] call those tribes Upper Algonquins to distinguish them from the Lower Algonquins, who are found farther south, in the neighborhood of Tadoussac and Quebec.

They are commonly called Outaouacs, because of the thirty different tribes that are found in those countries, the first that came down to our French settlements were the Outaouacs, whose name, since that time, has remained common to all the others.

As we have a large number of different tribes to attend, scattered over a large tract of country, we have divided them into three principal missions, each of which are subdivided into several particular missionary stations, according to the diversity of language and tribe, all of which are connected with these three principal missions.

The first of these missions, which is the central for the others, is called Sainte Marie du Sault, located at the foot of the rapids which receive their waters from Lake Tracy, or Superior, and discharge them into Lake Huron.

The second mission, which is the furthest distant, is that of the Holy Ghost, towards the extremity of said Lake Superior, in a place which the Indians call La Pointe de Chagaouamigong.

The third bears the name of St. Francis Xavier,[2] at the head of the Bay called that of the Puants, which is only separated by a tongue of land from Lake Superior.

When speaking of each of these three missions in particular we shall take occasion to say something about the peculiarities and curiosities to be met with in the places at which they are established.

1 Relation of 1670, pp. 78, 80.

2 See "Hist. and Biog. Notes" for a short sketch of the Green Bay Mission.

CHAPTER XXII.

On the Nature and Peculiarities of the Sault and of the Tribes who are in the habit of going there.

What is commonly called the Sault is not, properly speaking, a Sault, or a very high fall of water, but a very strong current of the waters of Lake Superior, which are arrested in their onward course, through the channel, by a great number of rocks (in the bed of the river) opposing their passage and forming a dangerous cataract of half a league, all of these waters flowing down and precipitating themselves upon one another and upon the large rocks, which obstruct the whole river.

Three leagues below Lake Superior and twelve leagues above the Lake of the Hurons; all this space forms a beautiful river, intersected with several islands, which divide the river and enlarge it in some places beyond sight. It flows very gently nearly everywhere, the only place hard to get over being the Sault.

At the lower end of these rapids, and even amongst the eddies, a great fishery is carried on, from spring till winter, of a species of fish which is generally only found in Lakes Superior and Huron. They call them in their language, Atticameg and we, in ours, white fish, because this fish is truly very white and, moreover, very excellent. Hence it forms almost exclusively the food of the greater part of those tribes.

Dexterity and strength are necessary for this kind of fishery; for those who catch them must stand up in a bark canoe and there, among the rapids, push down a pole to the bottom of the water, to the end of which a net is attached in the shape of a pocket, into which the fish are made to enter. The fish must be discovered by eye-sight, when they are gliding among the stones in the bed of the river. Having discovered them, the fisherman has to pursue them and, having forced them to enter the net, with great effort lifts them into the canoe. This performance is repeated at each draught, until he has secured a load, six or seven large fishes being taken each time.

Not everybody is fit for this kind of fishing, and occasionally there are some, who by the efforts they are obliged to make, upset the canoe, not having sufficient dexterity and experience.

It is this convenience of having fish in such abundance, as only to go and haul them out, that attracts the neighboring tribes hither during the summer, who, being nomadic, without fields and without corn, and living mostly on fish, here find what they want. At the same time the missionaries make use of the opportunity thus offered, to instruct and train them in the Christian religion, during their sojourn in this place.

This has induced us to establish a permanent mission here which we call Sainte Marie du Sault,[1] and which is the central to the others, as we here find ourselves surrounded by different tribes, of whom the following belong here, coming here, as they do, to live on fish:

The first, and at the same time, the native inhabitants of this place are the people that call themselves Pahouiting-wach Irini (Bawiting dajiinini—"a man of Bawiting"). The French call them Saulteurs, because they dwell at the Sault as in their own country, the other tribes only living there, as it were, by permission. They number no more than one hundred and fifty souls, but they are consolidated with three other tribes, numbering more than five hundred and fifty persons, to whom they have made a cession as it were, of the rights of their native country; hence these three tribes reside there permanently, except during the time in which they go hunting. Those called Noquets[2] go hunting on the south side of Lake Superior, where they originally belonged. The Outchibous[3] and the Marameg[4] hunt on the north side of the same lake, which country they look upon as their own.

1 This mission was located at the foot of the rapids, nine miles below the mouth of Lake Superior, on the American side of the river. The church and mission house were destroyed by fire Jan. 27th, 1671—the work, it seems, of a Pagan incendiary. Soon a far more beautiful chapel was erected.

2 Noquets, from no-ka. "The No-ka or Bear family are more numerous than any of the other clans of the Ojibways, forming fully one-sixth of the entire tribe." (Wm. W. Warren, in Minn. Hist. Col. vol. v. pp. 49.)

3 Outchibous, called also Outchibouec, now the generic name of the whole Chippewa nation.

4 Marameg, the French of Ma-nam-aig, "catfish," who have the catfish for their totem. They are a subdivision of the great A-waus-e clan, to which fully one-ninth of the Chipewa nation belongs.

Besides these four, there are seven other tribes dependant on this mission. Those called Achiligouiane,[1] Amicoures,[2] and the Mississague[3] fish here (at the Sault), but go hunting on the islands and in the country around Lake Huron. They number more than four hundred souls.

Two other tribes to the number of five hundred souls, altogether nomadic, without any fixed dwelling place, go toward the northern country, to hunt during winter, and come here to fish during summer.

There are still six other tribes, who are either people of the Sea of the North, as for instance, the Guilistinons[4] and the Ouenibigong,[5] or such as are roaming about in the neighborhood of this same Sea of the North, the greater part of whom having been driven from their country by famine, come here, from time to time, to enjoy the abundance of fish found here.

Two reasons, among others, have made us resolve to undertake a voyage as far as to this Sea of the North. The first is to see in what manner we can promote the conversion of those tribes, notwithstanding the great obstacles to this work, considering their mode of living, roaming about as they do, continually through gloomy forests, and assembling but rarely for some fair or feast, according to their custom.

The second reason for this voyage is to examine, at length, this Sea of the North, of which so much has been said and which thus far has not been discovered overland.

The motives for seeking to make this discovery are, in the first place, to ascertain whether this sea is the bay to which Hudson penetrated in the year 1612, or some other, by comparing the longitude and latitude of that place with those of this sea, and then to find out which part of the sea of the North is nearest to us. Secondly, in order to know whether there be any communication from Quebec to this sea by

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1 Achiligouiane—of this Indian tribe the writer has been unable to learn anything.

2 Amicoures, from "Amik" a beaver. They claimed to be descendants of the great beaver—Manitou; hence the beaver is their totem.

3 Mississague—of whom the writer has not been able to learn anything.

4 Guilistinons, the same who are called elsewhere Kilistinons, now Crees. See "Hist. and biog. notes."

5 Ouenibigong, French form of Winibigog, from "winibi," dirty water. They probably reside in the vicinity of Lake Winnepeg.

navigating along the northern shores, as has been tried some years ago. This depends upon the situation of said bay, which we have here behind us towards the North, for if said sea of the North should prove to be that of Hudson, or some other farther toward the West, an easy commercial intercourse cannot be expected, since a point would have to be doubled which extends to more than sixty-three degrees of north latitude. Thirdly, to arrive at a certainty regarding strong conjectures long entertained, that the sea of Japan could be reached by that route, for what has been remarked in some of the previous Relations concerning this matter has been confirmed more and more by the report of the Indians and by the conclusions we have drawn, namely, that at some days' journey from the mission of St. Francis Xavier, which is at the Bay of the Puants, there is a large river a league or more in width (Mississippi), which takes its rise somewhere in the north and flows in a southerly direction, and that so far, that the Indians who have navigated said river while seeking for enemies to fight, were unable after a great many days to discover its mouth, which must be toward the sea of Florida or that of California. Below a large tribe will be spoken of, residing in the direction of that river, as also of the voyage we hope to make this year, to carry the faith there, and at the same time to take cognizance of those new countries. Besides, we are assured by the report of a great many Indians, whose statements agree very well, that at two hundred leagues from the mission of the Holy Ghost, amongst the Outaouacs, towards the West is situated the sea of the West[1], to which one descends by another large river, found at eight days' journey from said mission. These rivers go and come far back into the interior—it is thus the Indians express themselves when speaking of the tide of the sea. One of them declares that he has there seen four ships with sails.

After these two seas, that of the South and that of the West, there only remains that of the north, so as to be surrounded by such on all sides, which being well discovered the following advantages may be derived, namely: that it is not impossible to pass from the sea of the North to that of

1 The compiler of this "Relation," who seems to have been Father Dablon, probably means by the "Sea of the West" the Pacific ocean and the river leading to it the Columbia. He is, of course, mistaken in his estimate of the distance to said "Sea of the West."

the South or to that of the West; that, as said sea of the West cannot be any other than that of Japan, the passage to this sea might be facilitated, as well as commerce.

CHAPTER XXIII.

On the Mission of the Holy Ghost at Point Chagaouamigong in Lake Tracy, or Superior.

(On the peculiarities and curiosities of Lake Superior, and, in the first place, of the different kinds of fish with which it abounds.)

This lake has almost the shape of a bow strung, being more than one hundred and eighty leagues in length, of which the South shore is, as it were, the string; and it seems as though the arrow were the large tongue of land that extends from the said south shore towards the middle of the lake, more than eighty leagues.[1]

The northern shore is frightful, on account of a series of rocks which form the end of the prodigious mountain chain which, beginning beyond Cape de Tourmente below Quebec, and extending till here through a space of more than six hundred leagues in length, finally terminates at the extremity of this lake.

The lake, nearly all over, is open and free from islands, which are generally only found towards the north shore. This large open space gives room to winds that agitate this lake with as much violence as the ocean.

It abounds mostly all over with such a quantity of sturgeon, white fish, trout, carp and herring, that a single fisherman will catch in one night twenty large sturgeon or one hundred and fifty white fish or eight hundred herring in one net. These herrings are a good deal like sea herrings in shape and size, but they have not quite so good a flavor. It is necessary often to expose oneself to danger in fishing here, which, in certain localities, can only be carried on at large, in dangerous places, subject to storms and at night-time before moon-rise. In fact two Frenchmen were drowned last

1 He means Keweenaw Point.

fall, having been overtaken by a squall of wind which they could not avoid.

In a river called Nantounagan, which is on the south side of the lake, there is a very great fishery of sturgeon, day and night, from spring till autumn, and it is there the Indians go to procure their supply of provisions. Opposite this river, on the north shore they have a similar fishery in a small bay, where a single net will, in one night, take thirty or forty sturgeon. This abundance of sturgeon is also found in a river at the extremity of the lake. Along the north shore another river is met with which is called Black Sturgeon River, from the sturgeon that are caught there. They are not as good as other sturgeon, but starving voyagers find them excellent.

At La Pointe du Saint Esprit Chagaouamigong, where the Outaouacs and Hurons reside, there is a great fishery, at all times of the year, for white fish, trout and herrings. This "manna" begins in November and lasts till after the ice has formed; and the colder it is, the more fish are caught. Herring are found all along the south shore of the lake, from spring till the end of the month of August. It were necessary to enumerate all the bays and rivers of this lake, if desirous to tell of all the fisheries carried on there. It is thus that Providence has supplied these poor people, who, through want of game and corn, live, for the greatest part, only on fish.

CHAPTER XXIV.

On the Mines of Copper, which are Found at Lake Superior.

Until now it was supposed these mines were only to be found on one or two islands. After making more exact researches, however, we have learned from the Indians certain secrets which they were unwilling to reveal. It required cuteness to draw such information from them, and to distinguish between the true and the false.

We do not, however, guarantee all we are about to say, upon their simple word, until we can speak with more assurance, when we shall have gone to those places ourselves, a thing

1 Ontonagon, from *onagan*, "dish;" *nind onagan*, "my dish."

we hope to do this summer, when, at the same time, we go to seek for the lost sheep roaming about throughout all sections of this great lake country.

Entering Lake Superior by its mouth, which empties at the Sault, the first place that presents itself in which copper is found in abundance, is an island forty or fifty leagues distant, situated towards the north shore opposite a place called Missipicouating.[1]

The Indians say it is a floating island, which is sometimes near, sometimes far away, according to the direction in which the winds move, propelling it from one side to another. They relate also that long ago four Indians met there accidentally, having been lost in the fog, with which this island is mostly always surrounded.

It was at a time, when they did not as yet carry on any commerce with the French, nor use kettles or hatchets. Accordingly when they wanted to prepare themselves a meal they took stones which they found on the beach, put them into the fire and made them red-hot. These heated stones they then put into a small vessel made of bark, so as to make the water boil with which it was filled and in which they boiled their meat. When they selected the stones, they found that nearly all of them were pieces of copper. These they used, and, having taken their repast, they intended to embark as soon as possible, fearing the lynx and hares, which in that place are as large as dogs, and which were beginning to eat their provisions, yes, even their canoes.

Before starting they loaded themselves with a quantity of those stones, large and small, and even some plates of copper. But they had not gone very far from the shore, when a powerful voice made itself heard, saying in great anger: "Who are those thieves that are carrying away the cradles and toys of my children?" By the cradles were meant the plates of copper; for among the Indians cradles are only composed of a few pieces of material fastened together, on which their children repose. The little pieces of copper

1 Michipicoten, also Cariboo Island. George Francis Thomas (Legends of the Land of the Lakes, p. 8) says: "Alexander Henry, who visited Cariboo Island in his search after silver and copper, in 1765, says it was called by the Indians, 'The Isle of the Yellow Sands,' and that a myriad of hawks encompassed the island, one of which was so bold as to pluck his cap from his head. He found native copper in the form of animals, leaves etc., having been fashioned thus by the hands of prehistoric man. He also found a number of caribous, the American reindeer, upon the island."

they were taking away, were the toys of Indian children, who play with little stones.

This voice astonished them very much, not knowing whence it came. Some said it was thunder, as storms are frequent there. Others maintained it was a certain manitou whom they call Missibizi, who among those tribes is considered as the god of the waters, the same as Neptune among the ancients. Others, finally, claimed that the voice come from the Memogovissiouis. These are mermaids, something like the fabulous Tritons or Sirens, who always live in the water, their hair hanging down to the waist. One of our Indians told us he had seen one of them in the water, as he imagined.

However that may be, this astonishing voice so frightened our Indians, that one of the four died before reaching land; soon after a second one was taken away then the third; so only one remained who, having returned to his country, related all that had happened and died very soon afterwards.

The Indians, timorous and superstitious as all of them are, never after that dared to go to that island, for fear of dying there, as they believe there are certain manitous there who kill all those that venture to land. And, in fact, since the memory of man, no one has ever been known to put his foot on said land, or even to sail by there, although the island appears plainly enough to view, and one can even distinguish the trees of another island called Achemikouan.

There is something true and something false in this story. What appears most probable, is that those four men were poisoned by the water which was made to boil by means of heating pieces of copper, which lumps of copper through the violence of the heat communicated their poison to the water; for we know from experience that copper, when put into the fire for the first time, exhales dense, noxious vapors that whitens chimneys. It is not, however, a poison immediately active, but such as might more speedily take effect in some than in others, as was the case with those men of whom we are speaking. Already feeling the sickening effects of the verdigris in the water in which they had boiled their meat, they may have easily imagined to hear that voice, or, perhaps, they heard some echo, which is commonly the case among the rocks with which this island is lined.

Perhaps this fable was invented afterwards, not knowing to what to ascribe the death of those Indians. And when they say it is a floating island, it is probable that the vapors which often hover over it, rarifying or condensing in the rays of the sun, make the island sometimes appear very near and at others further off.

What is certain, is that, according to the common belief of the Indians, there is a great abundance of copper on this island, but that no one has the courage to go there. It is there we hope to begin the discoveries, which we intend to make this summer.

Proceeding further (westward along the northern shore) to the place called: La Grand Anse, an island is met with three leagues from the mainland, which is renowned for the metal found there and also for the name Thunder, which it bears, because it is said it always thunders there.

But still further westward, along the same northern shore, is found an island most famous for copper, called Minong.[1] It is there, as the Indians have told many persons, that copper is to be found in great quantity, and in many places. This island is large, twenty-five leagues long, seven leagues from the mainland and more than sixty leagues from the (west) end of the lake. Almost everywhere on the shores of this island pieces of copper may be seen among the stones at the edge of the water, especially at the side opposite (facing the south), but principally in a certain bay, toward the end which faces the northeast from the side of the offing. There are some very steep bluffs of potters' clay there, and on the side of these perpendicular bluffs or hills are seen several layers, or beds of red copper, one above the other, separated from one another, or divided by other layers of earth or rock. Even in the water copper-sand, as it were (pulverized copper ore), is seen, and a person may take up grains with a spoon, some as large as an acorn, and others smaller reduced to sand (pulverized by the action of the water). This large island is almost entirely surrounded by islets, said to be of copper. They are to be met with in different places, till to the mainland of the north (shore). One of them is no farther away from Minong than two gun-shots. This islet is situated between the middle of the main island

1 Minong, now called Isle Royal.

and that end which faces north-east. There is, besides, on this north-east side, very far out in the lake, another island, called Manitouminis, on account of the copper with which it abounds and of which it is related that those who were there formerly threw down stones upon the ground, making them resound as brass generally does.

Advancing to the (west) end of the lake and returning (eastward) one day's journey along the south shore, there is seen at the edge of the water a rock of copper[1] weighing seven or eight hundred pounds. It is so hard that a steel instrument can hardly penetrate it. When it is heated, however, it may be cut like lead.

Further on this side, along the south shore is situated the Pointe of Chagaouamigong, where we have established the Mission of the Holy Ghost, of which we will speak hereafter. Near this are islands,[2] on the shores of which pieces of copper-ore are found and even plates of the same material. 1670!

Last spring we bought of the Indians a flat piece of pure copper, two feet square, which weighs more than one hundred pounds. It is not believed, however, that (copper) mines exist on the islands, but that all these nuggets of copper probably come from Minong or from other islands, where they originated, being carried on floating cakes of ice or rolled along on the bottom of the water by very impetuous winds. especially from the north-east, which wind is extremely violent,

It is true that on the mainland,[3] at the place where the Outaouacs raise Indian-corn, about half a league from the edge of the water, the women have sometimes found pieces of copper scattered here and there, weighing ten, twenty or thirty pounds. It is when digging into the sand to conceal their corn that they make these discoveries.

In going back still further towards the mouth of the lake, following the south shore, twenty leagues from the place of which we have just spoken (Chagaouamigong) one enters a river called Nantounagan, where a bluff is seen, from which pieces of red copper fall into the water or on the land, where they are easily found. Three years ago a massive piece (of

1 This large mass of copper was probably near the mouth of Iron River, Bayfield Co.

2 The Apostles Islands.

3 This seems to have been at the southeast end of Chequamegon Bay, between Fish Creek and Ashland.

copper) of one hundred pounds weight was given us, which was obtained in this same place and of which we cut off some pieces and sent them to Quebec to Monsieur Talon.

All do not agree as to the precise locality where copper is found (on Ontonagan River). Some would have it where the river begins to retire; others say it is met with right near the lake, when digging into the loamy ground. Some say at the place where the river forks, and in a creek which if more to the east, on this side of a point, one has to dig into the rich soil, so as to find this copper and that pieces of this metal are found scattered throughout the creek, which is in the middle.

Coming on still further this way, there presents itself a long point of land, which appears to us like an arrow. At the end of this there is an islet which seems to be only six feet square and which is said to be entirely of copper.

Finally, not to omit describing a single section of this great lake, we are told in the interior, on the south side, mines of this metal are found in different places.

All these items of information and others which it is unnecessary to describe more at length, merit indeed that an exact research be made, and such we will try to undertake. There are also indications of copper, to judge from the verdigris, which they say runs down from the crevices of certain rocks at the edge of the water, where even among the pebbles some pieces are found, somewhat soft, of an agreeable greenish color. If God prospers us in our undertaking, we shall speak of it next year with more certainty and knowledge.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the Tribes Connected with the Mission of the Holy Ghost at the Point called Chagaouamigong.

A person may count more than fifty villages, composed of different tribes, either roaming about or having fixed abodes, who in some way depend on this mission, and to whom one can announce the Gospel, be it by going to their country, or at the time when they come to this section to traffic.

The three tribes comprised under the name of Outaouacs, of which one has embraced Christianity, and that of the

Hurons Etionnontateheronnons, of whom there are about *five hundred baptized*, inhabit this Point, subsisting on fish and corn, and rarely on game. They compose more than fifteen hundred souls.

The Illinois tribe, living southward, have five large villages, one of which extends three leagues, the wigwams being in a row. They number nearly two thousand souls, and come here from time to time, in great numbers, as traders, to procure hatchets, guns, and other things they need. During the time they stay here the missionaries sow in their hearts the first seeds of the Gospel. Hereafter more will be said of these people and of the desire they show to have one of our Fathers instruct them, as also of the design Father Marquette has formed of going to them next autumn.

Eight days' journey from here, westward, is the first of the thirty villages of the Nadouessi. The great war they wage with our Hurons and some other tribes of this section of the country, keeps them more reserved and obliges them not to come here, except in small numbers, and, apparently, as an embassy. More will be said of them below, when we shall relate what said Father did to pacify them and preserve them in peace.

Of all the tribes toward the north, there are three who come here to traffic and very recently two hundred canoes of them stayed here for some time.

Four other tribes of those who compose the mission of St. Francis Xavier at the Bay of the Puants, have received the first tincture of the faith during the time they resided here, fleeing from the pursuit of the Iroquois.

Thus the mission finds itself surrounded nearly on all sides with tribes, at whose conversion the missionary has begun to labor, as we are about to see.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Letter of Father James Marquette to the Rev. Father Superior of the Mission.[1]

My Reverend Father, *Pax Christi*:—

I am obliged to give Your Reverence an account of the state of the mission of the Holy Ghost among the Outaouacs, according to the order received from Your Reverence, and lately again from Father Dablon, since my arrival here, after one month's navigation in snow and ice, which closed our passage, and in almost continual danger of death.

Divine Providence having destined me to continue the mission of the Holy Ghost, which Father Allouez had started, and where he baptized the head men of the Kiskakonk tribe, I arrived there on the thirteenth of September (1669). I went to visit the Indians who were living in clearings divided as it were, into five villages The Hurons, to the number of from four to five hundred souls, are nearly all baptized, and still always preserve a little Christianity. Some of the principal men, assembled in council, were much pleased at first to see me. I gave them to understand, however, that I did not as yet know their language perfectly, and that there was no other Father to come here, partly because they were all gone to the Iroquois, and partly because Father Allouez, who understood them perfectly, did not wish to return here for this winter, on account of their not showing enough attachment to religion (prayer). They admitted that they well-deserved punishment and afterwards, during the winter they spoke of it and resolved to do better, which they in reality have shown me by their conduct.

Those of the Keinouche[2] tribe declare loudly that the time is not yet come (to embrace the Christian religion). Still there are two men formerly baptized, one of whom somewhat advanced in years, is considered a wonder among

1 This letter of Father Marquette was most probably written at Sault Ste. Marie in the early part of spring, 1670. It seems he started from his mission at the head of Chequamegon Bay in the latter part of April or the beginning of May, when snow and ice are not a rare occurrence on Lake Superior. It is difficult to determine how long he stopped at the Sault and when he returned to La Pointe du Saint Esprit.

2 Keinouche, French form Ke-no-sha, "pike," an Ottawa clan, whose totem was the pike; hence Kenosha City, Wis.

the Indians, not having as yet, wished to get married. He always persists in his resolution, no matter what may be said to him on that account. He suffers great attacks, even from his own relatives, but this has no more effect on him than the loss of all his merchandise that he had brought along with him last year from the French settlements. He had not even as much left to himself as would cover him. These are hard trials for Indians, the greater part of whom seek nothing else than to possess much in this world.

The other, who is a young man newly married, seems to be of a different nature from the rest. The Indians, extraordinarily attached as they are to dreams, had concluded that a certain number of young men should commit indecencies with young girls, each of the latter chosing for this purpose any young man she liked. This is never refused, because they believe the life of men depends upon it. They call this young Christian. At first he enters the wigwam, and, seeing they are about to begin their orgies, he feigns to be sick and immediately leaves. They go to call him back, but he refuses to do anything of the kind. He confesses with prudence as great as could be expected, and I wondered that an Indian could live so innocently and everywhere declare himself a Christian with so much courage. He still has his mother, who is a good Christian, as are also some of his sisters.

The Outaouacs are extraordinarily superstitious in their feasts and juggleries and seem to harden themselves against the instructions imparted to them. They are, however, well satisfied to have their children baptized. God has this winter permitted a woman to die in her sins. Her sickness had been concealed from me, and I heard nothing about it, except by a report circulated about that she had requested a very bad dance to be performed for her cure. I immediately went into a wigwam, where all the head men were at a feast, and among them some Christian Kiskakonk. I pointed out to them the wickedness of that woman and of the medicine-man (in getting up such an immodest dance). I instructed them, speaking to all present, and God willed that an aged Outaouac should take the word, saying my request should be granted, no matter if the woman were to die. An aged Christian also spoke, telling the tribe the debaucheries of the young people ought to be stopped, and that Christian girls

should never be allowed to be present at these dances. To satisfy the woman the dance was changed into a child's play, but this did not prevent her from dying before day-break.

The extreme danger in which a young man lay sick, induced the medicine-man to say he should invoke the devil by means of very extraordinary superstitious performances. The Christians made no invocation whatever. Only the medicine-man and the patient did so. The latter was made to walk over large fires which had been lighted in all the wigwams. They say that he did not feel the heat of those fires, although his body had been anointed with oil during five or six days. Men, women, and children ran from wigwam to wigwam, proposing, as an enigma, anything they had in their minds, and the one who guessed it was very well satisfied to receive whatever he was looking for. I prevented them from practicing the indecencies in which they are in the habit of indulging at the end of all these deviltries. I think they will not return to them again, as the sick man died a short time after.

The Kiskakonk tribe, which for three years had refused to receive the Gospel announced to them by Father Allouez, finally resolved, in the autumn of the year 1668 to obey God. This resolution was taken in a council and declared to the Father, who was obliged to winter with them for the fourth time, in order to instruct and baptize them. The headmen of the tribe declare themselves Christians and in order to attend to them, the Father having gone to another mission, the charge of this one was given to me, of which I went to take charge in the month of September of the year 1669.

All the Christians were in the fields at that time, harvesting their Indian corn. They listened to me with pleasure, when I told them I had come to La Pointe merely through consideration for them and the Hurons, that they would never be abandoned, would be cherished above all other tribes and would henceforth form one nation with the French. I had the consolation of seeing their love for religion, and how much they appreciate their being Christians. I baptized the newly-born children and visited the old men, all of whom I found well disposed. The chief having allowed a dog to be attached to a pole near his wigwam, which is a kind of sacrifice to the sun, I told him that was not right, and he immediately threw it down himself. A sick man who had been instructed,

but not yet baptized, begged me to grant him this grace, or to stay near him, because he did not wish to employ the medicine-man to get cured, and feared the fire of hell. I prepared him for Baptism. I was often in his wigwam and the joy my visits occasioned partly restored him to health. He thanked me for the care I had taken of him and shortly after, saying I had restored him to life, he made me a present of a slave, who had been brought to him from the Illinois two or three months before.

In the evening, being in the wigwam of a Christian, where I used to sleep, I made him say some prayers to the guardian-angel, and related some anecdotes to make him understand the assistance the angels give us, especially when in danger of offending God. He told me that he now knew the invisible hand that struck him, when, after his Baptism he was on the point of committing sin with a woman and, having heard a voice that told him to remember he was a Christian, he departed without committing this sin. Afterwards he often spoke to me about the devotion to the guardian-angels and conversed about it with other Indians.

Some of the young women baptized serve as an example to all the rest, and are not ashamed to say they are Christians. Marriages[1] amongst Indians are dissolved about as easily as they are contracted, and it is no dishonor then to marry some one else. Having learned that a certain young Christian woman having been abandoned by her husband, was in the same danger (of remarrying invalidly) on account of her relatives, I went to see her and encouraged her to behave in a Christian manner. She kept her word so well that no one ever heard anything ill said of her. Her conduct joined with the remonstrances I made to her husband, induced him to take her back towards the close of the winter, and she failed not to come immediately to the chapel, from which she had previously been too far away. She opened her conscience to me, and I wonder that a young woman lived in such (an innocent) way.

The pagans make no feast without sacrifice, and we find it difficult to prevent them. The Christians have now changed this way of acting, and, to accomplish this more readily, I

1 See "Hist. and Biog. Notes," where the reader will find an article on Indian Marriages by Nicholas Perrot, 1665-1701.

preserve a little of their custom and take from it what is bad. They have to make a speech at the beginning of the feast; so they call upon God, of whom they ask health and what they need, declaring that for this purpose they feast the people. God has been pleased to keep all the Christians in health except two children, whose sickness they sought to hide from me, and for whom a medicine-man had performed his deviltries. They died shortly after being baptized.

Having invited the Kiskakonk to come and winter near the chapel, they left all the other tribes to dwell near us, in order to be able to pray to God, receive instruction and get their children baptized. They declare themselves Christians, and, for that reason, I used to address them in all the councils and affairs of importance. In fact, it was enough to let them know what I wanted, in order to obtain it, when I addressed them in their quality as Christians; they told me, too, it was on that account they obeyed me. They have taken the foremost place among the other tribes, and, it may be said, they govern three of them. It is a great consolation to a missionary to see people so tractable in the midst of barbarism, to live in so great peace with Indians, and sometimes to pass whole days in instructing them and making them pray to God. The rigor of the winter and the bad weather did not prevent them from coming to the chapel. There were some who did not miss a single day, and I was busy receiving them from morning till night. Some I prepared for baptism, others I instructed for confession and still others I disabused of their reveries. The old men told me the young had not much understanding as yet, and that I should prevent their disorders. I often spoke to them about their daughters, telling them they should not allow young men to go and visit them at night. I knew, properly speaking, all that was going on amongst the two tribes that were near us, but, concerning the rest, have only heard reports. No one ever spoke to me of the Christian women among them, and when I asked the opinion of some of the ancients, they had nothing to answer me, except that these women prayed to God. I used to often s ek to impress this point, well knowing all the solicitations Christian women suffer every night, and what courage they need to resist them. They have learned to be modest, and the French, who saw them, well noticed they were not like the rest. It

is by their modesty that Christian women are distinguished. One day, instructing the old men in my wigwam, speaking to them about the creation of the world and other facts related in the Old Testament, they told me what they formerly believed; now they regard those things as fables. They have some knowledge of the tower of Babel, saying their ancestors used to relate that in olden times a large house had been built, but that a great wind had thrown it down. They despise all those petty gods which they had before they were baptized. They often ridicule them and wonder at themselves for having had so little understanding as to offer sacrifices to those fabulous objects.

I baptized an adult after a long trial, and his assiduity at prayer, his open-heartedness in relating his past life to me, the promises he made me, especially not to go and visit girls, the assurances they gave me of his good conduct,—all this obliged me to grant him what he demanded (i. e., baptism). He has since continued in his good behavior, and immediately after his return from the fishery he did not fail to come to the chapel. After the Easter holidays the Indians separate, to hunt for a living. They promised me always to remember their religion, and urgently requested that one of our fathers might come and seek them in the fall, when they would meet again. Their petition will be granted, and if it please God to send us as a father, he will take my place, whilst I, to execute the orders of the Father Superior, shall go to begin the mission of the Illinois.

The Illinois are thirty days' journey by land from La Pointe, the way being very difficult. They are south-westward from La Pointe du Saint Esprit. One passes through (the country inhabited by) the tribe of the Ketehigamins,[1] who compose more than twenty large lodges, and live in the interior. They seek to get acquainted with the French, in hopes of procuring tomahawks, knives and other iron implements from them. So much do they fear them that they took from the fire two Illinois, who, when tied to the stake, said the French had declared they wished to have peace all over the land. After that, the traveler passes through the country of the Miamiouek (the Miami) and, traversing great

1 Ketehigamins, most probably an error of the copyist, should be Kitchigamins, "Large Lake People."

prairies, he arrives in the country of the Illinois, who are principly gathered in two villages, which contain from eight to nine thousand souls. These people are well enough disposed for Christianity.

Since Father Allouez exhorted them at La Pointe to adore one God alone, they have begun to abandon their false gods. They adore the sun and thunder. Those whom I have seen appear to be of a pretty good nature. They do not run about at night as others do. A man boldly kills his wife if he learns that she is unfaithful. They are more reserved in their sacrifices, and promise me to embrace Christianity and to do all I will tell them, in their country. With this object in view the Outaouacs have given me a young man lately from the Illinois country, who has taught me the first rudiments of that language during the leisure time afforded by the Indians of La Pointe in the winter. The Illinois tongue is scarcely intelligible, although it has something of the Algonquin. Nevertheless, I hope with the assurance of the grace of God, to understand and be understood, if God in his goodness brings me to that country.

A person must not hope to escape crosses in any of our missions, and the best way to live contentedly under these crosses is not to fear them, and, when enjoying little ones, to await from the goodness of God such as are far greater. The Illinois wish for us, Indian-fashion, to share in their miseries and to endure all that can be imagined from their barbarism. They are lost sheep that must be hunted up in the under-brush and forests, especially as they cry so loud for some one to go and draw them out of the jaws of the wolf; such are the urgent requests they made me during winter.

The Illinois always travel by land. They plant Indian-corn, of which they have an abundance. They have pumpkins as large as those of France, and plenty of grapes and other fruit. In their country hunting for buffaloes, bears, deer, turkeys, ducks, wild geese, pigeons, and cranes, is very profitable. During a certain season of the year they leave their village, all of them, to go in a body to the hunting-grounds, thus the better to resist the enemies who come to attack them. They believe, if I go there, I shall make peace everywhere; that they will always stay in the same place, and only the young will go hunting.

When the Illinois come to La Pointe, they pass a large river about a league in width (Mississippi). It runs from north to south, and so far that the Illinois, who do not know what a canoe is, have not heard of its mouth. They only know that there are very large tribes further south than they, some of whom raise two crops of Indian-corn in a year. East or south-east from their country, a tribe, whom they call Chaouanons,[1] came to visit them last summer. The young man who was given to me and who teaches me the (Illinois) language, saw them. They were laden with glass-beads, which shows they have intercourse with Europeans. They had traveled through a certain country for almost thirty days before arriving at this place (the country of the Illinois). It is hardly credible that this large river[2] empties (into the sea) at Virginia, and we rather believe it has its mouth in California. If the Indians who have promised to make me a canoe, do not fail in their word, we shall travel on this river as far as possible, with a Frenchmen and the young man given to me, who knows some of those languages and has an aptness for learning others. We shall visit the tribes, who inhabit those countries, in order to open the way to so many of our Fathers who are awaiting this happiness since so long a time. This discovery will give us a full knowledge of the sea, either that of the south or that of the west.

At a distance of six or seven days' journey further down than the Illinois, there is another large river, on which there are prodigious tribes who use *wooden canoes.* We cannot write anything else about them until next year, if God vouchsafes to conduct us thither.

The Illinois are warriors. They make a number of their enemies slaves, with whom they carry on traffic with the Outaouacs, to get guns, powder, kettles, hatchets and knives from them. They formerly had war with the Nadouessi and, having made peace some years ago, I confirmed it, in order to make it easier for them (the Illinois) to come to La Pointe, where I go to await them in order to accompany them into their country.

The Nadouessi, beyond La Pointe, who are the Iroquois of this country, but less perfidious, and who never attack with-

1 Chaouanon, pronounced Shah-wah-non "southern people," the same generally called Shawnees. They lived along the Ohio River, and were a very populous tribe, inoffensive and averse to war.

2 The Mississippi.

out provocation, are about westward from the Mission of the Holy Ghost. They are a large tribe and one that has not yet been visited, we being devoted to the conversion of the Outaouacs. They fear the French, because they have brought iron into the country. They have a language entirely different from the Algonquin and Huron. There are a number of villages but they extend to a very long distance. They have most extraordinary ways of acting. They adore the calumet, say not a word at their feasts, and when a stranger arrives, they feed him with a wooden fork, as one would do a child. All the tribes of the lake (Superior) make war upon them, but with little success. They have wild rice, use small canoes and keep their word inviolably. I have sent them a present by the interpreter, in order to tell them to recognize the French wherever they might meet them; not to kill them nor the Indians accompanying them; that the Black-gown wishes to go to the country of the Assinipouars and to that of the Kilistinaux; that he has already been with the Outagamis, and that he will start this fall to go to the Illinois, requesting them to leave the way to their country open. They have consented to these demands; as to my present, however, they said they were waiting for all their people to return from the chase, and that they would be at La Pointe this fall, to hold a council with the Illinois and to speak with me. I would wish that all the tribes had as much love for God as they have fear of the French; Christianity would then soon flourish.

The Assinipouars, who have about the same language as the Nadouessi, are westward from the Mission of the Holy Ghost, at a lake fifteen or twenty days' journey distant, where they gather wild rice and where the fishing is very good. I heard there is a large river in their country, which leads to the Sea of the West, and an Indian told me that being at the mouth, he had seen Frenchmen there, and four large canoes (vessels) with sails.

The Kilistinaux are a wandering people, and we do not as yet know their rendez-vous. They are towards the northwest from the Mission of the Holy Ghost, always in the woods and have only their bow and arrow with which to make a living. They came to the mission, where I was last fall, to the number of two hundred canoes, to buy merchandise and corn. They then went to the woods to stay there over winter. I saw them again this spring at the lake-shore.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Necessary Explanation in Order to Get a Correct Idea of the Outaouac Missions.[1]

"It is good to give a general idea of these Outaouac countries, not only in order to know the places where the faith has been announced by the establishment of missions, but also because the king, having very recently[2] taken possession of these countries by a ceremony worthy of the oldest son of the Church and of a most Christian ruler, has placed all these tribes under the protection of the Cross before taking them under his own protection. He did not wish to hoist the insignia of royal power until he had first raised the standard of Jesus Christ, as shall be stated in the narrative of this act of taking possession.

Casting a glance on the topography of the lakes and lands, on which the greater number of the tribes of these quarters have settled, will give more insight into all these missions than a long discourse on the subject.

First, look at the mission of Sainte Marie Du Sault, about three leagues below the mouth of Lake Superior. It will be seen situated on the bank of the river into which this great lake empties, at a place called the Sault, which is very advantageous for apostolic functions, since it is the great rendezvous of the main part of the Indians of these quarters, and the almost ordinary route of all those who go down to the French settlements. Hence it is in this place that the assuming possession of all these countries in the name of His Majesty took place, in presence of fourteen tribes, and with their consent, they having gone there for this purpose.

Towards the other extremity of the same lake is found the mission of the Holy Ghost, which is partly at a place called The Point of Chagaouamigong, and *partly on the neighboring islands, where the Outaouacs and the Hurons*[3] *of the Tionontate*

1 Relation of 1671, pp. 24-26.

2 On the 14th of June, 1671. See next chapter.

3 It is, therefore, highly probable that these two tribes spent a great part of the year on the islands, and especially on La Pointe Island, and that both Fathers, Marquette and Allouez, said Mass and performed other functions of the ministry there. As a large portion of the last named island had been cleared and cultivated by the Chippewas prior to their dispersion, it is natural to suppose that the Ottawas and Hurons occupied the lands thus abandoned, the more so as the fishery was most excellent all around the island.

betake themselves, according to the season, either to fish or to raise Indian corn.

It will be easy to recognize the rivers and ways that lead to the different tribes, either settled down or roving about in the vicinity of this same lake, and who, in some way, are dependent on this same mission of the Holy Ghost, on account of the traffic that attracts them to the place where our Indians dwell.

It is towards the south that the great river called Mississippi runs, which must empty towards the Sea of Florida, more than four hundred leagues from here, and of which more will be said hereafter. Beyond the great river are situated eight villages of the Illinois, about one hundred leagues from La Pointe du Saint Esprit. Forty or fifty leagues from the same place, westward, is found the Nadouessi tribe, very populous and warlike, who are considered the Iroquois of these countries, warring single-handed with all the other tribes here. Further on, another tribe of an unknown language is met with, and after this is passed they say the Sea of the West appears. Pushing on still towards west-northwest, one sees a tribe called Assinipoualac, composing one large village, or, according to others, thirty small neighboring villages, somewhat near the Sea of the North, at fifteen days' journey from the same mission of the Holy Ghost.

Finally the Kilistinons are scattered all over the country north of this lake, having no corn, nor fields, nor any settled dwelling place, but incessantly roaming about in those great forests to make a living by hunting, like some other tribes of these quarters, who, on that account, are called North-Land or North-Sea tribes.

We might designate, *en passant*, all the places of this lake, where copper is said to be found. Although until now people have not a thorough knowledge of the place in which it exists through want of exact research, still the plates and lumps of this metal, which we have seen, and which weigh each one to two hundred pounds—this large rock of copper of from seven to eight hundred pounds, which all travelers see towards the head of the lake,—besides a great number of pieces that are found on the beach in different places,—all this seems to allow of no doubt that there are some choice mines of copper not as yet discovered.

Having glanced all over this Lake Superior and the tribes living in this vicinity, we can go down towards the lake of the Hurons and notice there, almost in the middle (of said lake, on the Manitoulin Island), the mission of St. Simon, established on the islands that formerly had been the true country of some Outaouac tribes, but which they were obliged to abandon when the Iroquois desolated the Huron country. Since the time, however, that the arms of the king have compelled the Iroquois to live in peace with our Algonquins, a part of the Outaouacs have returned to their country, and we, at the same time, have chosen the site for this mission, with which we connected the Mississagwe[1] tribe, the Amicoues and their neighbors, to whom we have annnounced the faith and of whom we have baptized a great many children, as well as adults.

Towards the south and at the other side of the lake (Huron) are the lands formerly inhabited by different tribes of Hurons and Outaouacs, who had settled at some distance from one another, as far as the famous island of Missilimakinac. Near this island, as the place most renowned for its abundance of fish, different tribes had formerly made their abode. If they see that the peace (forced upon the Iroquois by the victorious arms of France) is good and strong, they declare they will return thither. For this reason we have already, to some extent, laid the foundation there of the mission of St. Ignace during the last winter we spent there.

From there (Missilimackinac) you enter the lake called Mitchiganons (Michigan), to which the Illinois have left their name. After those people who had formerly dwelt near the Sea of the West had been driven away by their enemies, they came to seek refuge on the shores of this lake. There the Iroquois dispossessed them; so they finally retired a seven-days' journey beyond the great river (Mississippi). It will be seen hereafter that a part of this tribe have begun to be enlightened by the light of faith which we have brought to this, their dwelling-place.[2]

1 This mission was probably founded by Father Dablon in the winter of 1670-71.

2 In 1670 the Illinois were twice visited at their village on the Upper Fox River, nine miles from Portage City; the first time by Father Allouez on the 29th of April, and the second time by both Fathers Dablon and Allouez on the 15th of September. The main body of the Illinois, however, resided further south, in Iowa and Illinois.

Finally, between this Lake of the Illinois and Lake Superior a long bay is seen, called the Bay of the Puants (Green Bay), at the head of which is the Mission of St. Francis Xavier. At the entrance of this bay the Huron Islands are to be met with, so called because the Hurons, after the desolation of their country, retired thither for some time. On one of them, especially, are found certain kinds of emeralds like diamonds, some white, others green. Further on still, northward, a rather small river can be seen, to which the name of Copper River has been given, on account of a mass of metal, weighing over two hundred pounds, which we have seen there.

Going towards the head of said bay, the river of the Oumaloumines is seen, which (word) means Wild Rice tribe. This tribe is dependent upon the Mission of St. Francis Xavier, as also that of the Pouteouatami, Ousaki and other tribes, who, having been driven from their country, which are the lands of the south, near Missilimackinac, have fled to the head of this bay. Beyond this bay, in the interior, can be noticed the Fire tribe, or Mashkoutench, with one of the Illinois tribes, called Lesoumami, and the Outagami. Of them more shall be said in detail, as well as of all the rest that have been mentioned, the faith having been announced to nearly all of them. Some of them have embraced it, making public profession of Christianity; others have not as yet declared themselves, although many individuals have received holy baptism, and the most of them the instructions necessary for receiving it.

The rest, finally, who are more distant towards the south and westward, either begin to come to us—for the Illinois have already arrived at this bay, or they are waiting till we can push through to the place in which they reside. Of this we shall treat more in detail when speaking of the Missions in succession. Then we shall touch upon the more rare and curious things to be found in those lands and the tribes newly discovered."

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Formal Taking Possession of the Entire Outaouac Country, in the name of the King of France.

"We[1] do not claim to give a statement here of all that took place at this ceremony, but will relate only what concerns Christianity and the good of the missions, which will now flourish more than ever, after that which took place to their advantage, on this occasion.

Monsieur Talon, our Intendant, on his return from Portugal and after his shipwreck, received orders from the king again to pass over into this country. He was ordered by His Majesty at the same time to labor strongly at the establishment of Christianity by favoring our missions, and to make known the name and power of our invincible monarch among even the most unknown and distant tribes. This order, supported by the intentions of the minister, who is always equally watchful to extend the glory of God and to procure that of his king in every land, was executed as soon as practicable. No sooner had Monsieur Talon landed than he thought of the means to make it successful. Hence he chose Sieur Lusson, whom he commissioned, in his place and in the name of His Majesty, to take possession of the lands between the East and the West, from Montreal to the Sea of the South, as much and as far as could be included in this act of taking possession.

For this purpose, having wintered at the Lake of the Hurons, he went to Sainte Marie of the Sault in the beginning of May in this year, one thousand six hundred and seventy-one. He first convoked the tribes of the surrounding country of more than a hundred leagues, who, in the person of their ambassadors, met there to the number of fourteen tribes.[2]

1 "Relation" of 1671, pp. 26–28.

2 The Chippewas, according to their traditional accounts, went there "headed by their chief Ke-che-ne-zuh-yauh, head chief of the great Crane family. Addressing him, the French envoy said: "Every morning you will look towards the rising of the sun and you shall see the fire of your French father (king of France) reflecting towards you to warm you and your people. If you are in trouble, you, the Crane, must arise in the skies and cry with your 'far sounding' voice and I will hear you. The fire of your French father shall last forever and warm his children." At the end of this address a gold medal shaped like a heart was placed on the breast of the chief and by this mark of honor he was recognized as chief of the Lake Superior Ojibways." (Wm. W. Warren in Minn. Hist. Coll. vol. v, pp. 131–32.)

Having made the necessary arrangements so that all might tend to the honor of France, he began the fourth (should be 14th) of June of the same year by an act the most solemn that had ever taken place in those countries.

All the people being assembled for a grand public council, and, having selected a rising piece of ground very proper for his design, which hill overlooks the Chippewa village, he caused a Cross to be erected there and then had the arms of the king hoisted with all the magnificence he could devise.

The Cross was publicly blessed with all the ceremonies of the church by the superior of those missions and, while lifting it from the ground in order to plant it, the hymn "Vexilla Regis" was sung, which a good number of French, who were present on this occasion, entoned to the admiration of all the Indians, there being mutual joy in the hearts of both classes at the sight of this glorious standard of Jesus Christ, which appeared only to be lifted up so high in order to rule over the hearts of these poor people.

Then the escutcheon of France, having been attached to a cedar-pole, was raised above the Cross, whilst the oration "Exaudiat" was being sung, and they were praying at this end of the world for the sacred person of His Majesty. After this Monsieur de Saint Lusson observing all the formalities generally observed on such occasions, took possession of these countries, the air resounding with redoubled cries of "Vive le Roy !" and the firing of guns, to the astonishment of all those people, who had never before seen anything similar.

After free scope had been given to this confused noise of voices and guns, a great silence came upon the whole assembly. Then Father Allouez commenced the eulogy of the king, to make known to all those tribes who this monarch was, whose arms they saw and to whose power they had this day submitted themselves. Being well versed in their language and ways, he knew so well how to accommodate himself to their mental capacity, that he gave them such an exalted idea of the greatness of our incomparable sovereign, that they declared they had no word to express what they thought of it.

The Father spoke as follows: "Behold, a noble affair presents itself to us, my brethren; grand and important is the affair, which is the object of this council. Look up to the

Cross, elevated so high above your heads. To such it was that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, having become man for the love of man, allowed himself to be fastened and to die, in order to render satisfaction to the eternal Father for our sins. He is the master of our lives, of heaven and earth and hell. It is of Him I always speak to you, and His name and word I have carried into all these countries. But look, at the same time, at this other pole, to which are attached the arms of the great chief of France, whom we call the king. He lives beyond the sea. He is the chief of the greatest chiefs; he has not his equal on earth. All the chiefs you have ever seen or heard of are but children in comparison to him; he is like a great tree and they, they are only like small plants, which are trampled under foot in walking. You know Onnontio, the celebrated chief of Quebec, you know and experience how he is the terror of the Iroquois, and his mere name makes them tremble, since he ravished their country and carried fire into their villages. There are beyond the sea ten thousand Onnontios like him, who are but the soldiers of this grand chief, our great king, of whom I am speaking. When he says the word, "I am going to war," every one obeys him and those ten thousand chiefs raise companies each of one hundred soldiers, both on land and sea. Some embark in ships, one to two hundred in number, such as you have seen at Quebec. Your canoes carry four or five men, or, at the highest, from ten to twelve. Our French ships carry four, five hundred and even as many as a thousand. Others go to war on land, but in numbers so great, that, ranged in double file, they would reach from here to Mississaquenk, although we count more than twenty leagues till there. When he attacks, it is more terrible than thunder; the earth trembles, the air and sea are on fire with the discharge of his cannon. He has been seen in the midst of his troops, covered all over with the blood of his enemies, of whom so many have been put to the sword by him, that he does not count the scalps, but only the streams of blood which he has caused to flow. He carries off so great a number of prisoners of war, that he makes no account of them, but lets them go wherever they like, to show that he does not fear them. At present no one dares to make war on him; all those living beyond the sea have sued him for peace with the greatest submission. From all parts of the world people

go to see him, to hear and admire him. It is he alone that decides all the affairs of the world. What shall I say of his riches? You esteem yourselves rich, when you have ten or twelve sacks of corn, some hatchets, beads, kettles, or some other things similar. He has more cities belonging to him than there are men among you in all these countries in five hundred leagues around. In each city there are stores in which enough axes could be found to cut down all your forests; enough kettles to boil all your moose, and enough glass beads to fill all your wigwams. His house is longer than from here to the head of the Sault, that is, more than a half a league; it is higher than the highest of your trees, and it holds more families than the largest of your villages can contain.[1]"

The Father added many other things of this kind, which were listened to by these people with wonder, all being astonished to learn that there was a man on earth so great, so rich, and so powerful.

After this discourse Monsieur de Lusson spoke and declared to them, after the manner of a warrior and in an eloquent way, the objects for which he had convoked them, especially that he was sent to take possession of this country, to receive them under the protection of this great king, whose panegyric they had just heard, and to make only one land of theirs and ours. The whole ceremony was concluded with a beautiful bonfire, which was lighted at night, when the "Te Deum" was sung to thank God, in the name of these poor people, that they were henceforth to be the subjects of so grand and powerful a "monarch."[2]

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1 The good Father indulged in hyperbolic language, to impress his dusky hearers with a great idea of the grandeur of the "Grand Monarch," Louis XIV.

2 See "Hist. and biog. notes" in regard to the most important actors and witnesses of this great convocation.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE MISSION OF THE HOLY GHOST AT THE EXTREMITY OF LAKE SUPERIOR ABANDONED; FATHER MARQUETTE GOES TO MISSILIMACKINAC.

"[1]These quarters of the north have their Iroquois just as well as those of the south. Such are certain tribes called Nadouessi, who have rendered themselves formidable to all their neighbors, because they are naturally warlike, and, although they use only the bow and arrow, they use them with such skill and dexterity, that in a moment the air is filled with them, especially when, like the Parthians, they turn their face in flying, for then they are no less to be feared when they flee than when they attack.

They dwell on the banks and in the vicinity of the great river called Mississippi. They consist of no less than fifteen villages, pretty well settled. Still they do not know how to cultivate the land, so as to plant or raise anything. They content themselves with a kind of marsh rye that we call wild rice, which the prairies supply spontaneously. They divide the ground whereon this wild rice grows, so that each one can reap his own separately, without trespassing upon his neighbor's patch.

They are located about sixty leagues from the end of Lake Superior, towards sun-set, in the midst of the tribes of the west, all hostile to them by a general league against the common foe.

They speak a language altogether peculiar and entirely different from that of the Algonquins and Hurons, whom they surpass by far in generosity, often being satisfied with the glory of having been victorious and sending the prisoners back free, whom they had captured in battle, without doing them any harm.

Our Outaouacs and Hurons of La Pointe du Saint Esprit had until now preserved a kind of peace with them. Affairs having become embroiled, however, last winter, so that some murders were even committed on both sides, our Indians had reason to fear that the storm might burst upon them. They

[1] "Relation" of 1671, pp. 39, 40.

considered it safer to leave the place, which in fact they did in the spring (of 1671) when they withdrew to the Lake of the Hurons. The Outaouacs went to live on the Island of Ekaentouton (Manitoulin) with those of their tribe, who last year had gone there in advance and where we afterwards established the mission of St. Simon. The Hurons settled on the famous island of Missilimackinac, where we commenced last winter the mission of St. Ignace.

As in such like migrations people's minds are not calm enough, Father Marquette, who had charge of this mission of the Holy Ghost, had more to suffer than to do for the conversion of those people. With the exception of some children whom he baptized, the sick he consoled, and the instructions he continued for those who make profession of Christianity, he was unable to pay much attention to the conversion of the rest. He was obliged like them to abandon this post, to follow his flock, undergo the same hardships and encounter the same dangers as they, to go to this country of Missilimackinac, where they had formerly dwelt. They have good reason for preferring this locality to many others on account of the advantages we have mentioned above, and also because the climate seems to be entirely different there from that of the surrounding country; for the winter is somewhat short, not having begun till long after Christmas and ended towards the middle of March, when we saw spring return.

CHAPTER XXX.

Father Marquette at St. Ignace.

"The[1] Hurons of the Tobacco tribe, called Tionnontate, having been formerly driven from their country by the Iroquois, fled to this island, named Missilimackinac, so famous for its fishery. They could only stay a few years, however, the very same enemies obliging them to leave this very advantageous post. They withdrew, therefore, still further to the islands which still bear their name, and are located at the entrance of the Bay of the Puants. Not finding themselves sufficiently safe, however, even there, they

1 Relation of 1672, pp. 35 and 36.

went far back into the woods, and from there finally chose as their last dwelling-place the extremity of Lake Superior, in a place called La Pointe du Saint Esprit. There they were far enough away from the Iroquois not to fear them, but they were too near the Nadouessi, who are, as it were, the Iroquois of these quarters of the North, being the most powerful and war-like people of this country.

Still all proceeded peaceably enough for several years until the last (1671), when the Nadouessi having been irritated by the Hurons and Outaouacs, war broke out between them, and it began so furiously that several prisoners taken on both sides were consigned to the flames.

The Nadouessi, however, did not wish to begin any act of hostility until after they had returned to Father Marquette some pictures of which he had made them a present, so as to give them some idea of our religion and thus to instruct them by the eye, as he was unable to do otherwise on account of their language, which is altogether different from the Algonquin and Huron.

Enemies so formidable soon struck terror into the heart of our Hurons and Outaouacs, who determined to abandon La Pointe du Saint Esprit and all the fields they had so long cultivated.

In their flight the Hurons, remembering the great advantages they had formerly found at Missilimackinac, turned their eyes thither, as to a place of refuge, which they actually reached a year ago.

This place has all the advantages that can be desired by Indians. Fish is abundant there at all seasons, the land is productive, and the chase for bears, deer and lynx is carried on with great success. Besides, it is the great rendezvous of all the tribes who are going to or coming from the north or south.

For this reason, foreseeing what since has actually taken place, we erected a chapel there last year already, in order to receive those passing by and to attend to the Hurons, who have settled there.

Father Marquette, who has followed them from La Pointe du Saint Esprit, still has charge of them. As he has not given us any particular memoirs of what has taken place in this Mission (of St. Ignace), all that can be said of it is that this tribe, having been formerly raised in the Christian

religion prior to the destruction of the Huron nation, those who have persevered in the faith are at present very fervent. They fill the chapel every day—yes, even often during the day do they visit it. They sing the praises of God with a devotion which has thus been communicated, in a great measure, to the French, who have witnessed it. Adults have been baptized and old men set a good example to the children to go to prayers diligently. In a word, they practice all the exercises of piety that can be expected of Christians formed over twenty years ago, although for the greatest part of that time they were without a church and pastor, having no other teacher than the Holy Ghost."

CHAPTER XXXI.

SUBSEQUENT CAREER OF FATHER MARQUETTE—HE DISCOVERS AND EXPLORES THE MISSISSIPPI—RETURNS TO THE BAY OF THE PUANTS (GREEN BAY).

Father Marquette left La Pointe du Saint Esprit in the spring of 1671. He did not reach Sault Ste. Marie in time for the great gathering there on the 14th of June of that same year, as his name is not to be seen on the document drawn upon that occasion and signed by all the Fathers present.[2] He found at Missilimackinac a chapel built the winter before by Father Dablon. He also found there 380 Christian Hurons and 60 Outaouac Sinagaux. The latter were as yet pagans, but eager to embrace Christianity. They attended prayer meetings regularly and brought their children to have them baptized. During the summer of 1671 Father Marquette went to the Sault, in company with Father Allouez. He was only absent two weeks, but so much were

1 We have compiled this narrative of Father Marquette's voyage of discovery, his last trip to the Illinois, and his death on the east shore of Lake Michigan, from the "Relations" as given in Shea's "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," which work, as well as all others of this gifted author, we take great pleasure in recommending to our readers.

2 See "Hist. and biog. Notes" in regard to the signers of the "procez-verbaux" drawn up at the formal taking possession of the Ottawa country, in the name of the King of France. Marquette *did not* sign that document. He probably left his Mission at the head of Ashland Bay early in the spring of 1671, probably as soon as navigation opened on Lake Superior. No doubt his people, dreading a Sioux massacre, left as soon as practicable.

his Indians attached to him that they counted the days and received him with every demonstration of joy at his return.

In 1672 Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, succeeded M. de Courcelles as governor of Canada. As soon as he arrived, M. Talon, the Intendant, laid before him the plan of exploring the Mississippi River. For this great undertaking they chose the Sieur Jollyet, wishing to have Father Marquette accompany him. On the 8th of December, 1672, feast of the Immaculate Conception, Jollyet arrived at St. Ignace, Mackinaw, and told Father Marquette the joyful news of their appointment to visit and explore the Mississippi. The pious missionary was more than glad. For years he had longed for an opportunity to visit the "Great River." Ever since he had come to the Ottawa country he had invoked Mary Immaculate to obtain the grace for him to be able to visit the nations on the Mississippi. Now his prayer was about to be be heard. He placed his intended voyage under the special protection of the Immaculate Mother of God, promising her that, should he be so happy as to discover the great river, he would call it Conception River and give the same name to the first Mission he would found among the Illinois. Five Frenchmen volunteered to share with Marquette and Jollyet the hardships and dangers of so glorious an enterprise. The winter of 1672–3 was spent in making the necessary preparations and collecting information from the Indians. They drew up a map, on which were marked the course of the rivers they were to navigate, the names of the tribes and localities through which they were to pass, the course of the great river, etc. All their provisions consisted of some corn and smoked meat. They had two small birch canoes, in which they navigated all the way from Mackinaw to the mouth of the Arkansas River and back, a distance of over 2,700 miles.

On the 17th of May, 1673, they started from Mackinaw. On his way Father Marquette visited the Menominees on Menominee River. This river forms the north-eastern boundary line of Wisconsin. He there found some good Christians and told them he was on his way to explore the great river. They were extremely surprised and tried all they could to dissuade him from his undertaking.

They told him he would meet with savage tribes, who showed no mercy to strangers, but would crush their skulls

without any reason whatever; that war had broken out between the tribes living along the proposed route, which would leave them exposed to the danger of being killed by some roving band; besides, the great river was very dangerous to such as were unacquainted with the difficult places, and was, moreover, full of horrible monsters that devoured both man and boat; that a demon, or manitou, obstructed the passage and drowned all who dared to come near; finally, that the heat was unsupportable, infallibly causing death.

Father Marquette thanked them for their advice, which, however, he said he could not follow, as there was a question of saving immortal souls, for which he would gladly give up his life. He made light of their pretended demon, and said they would defend themselves against sea-monsters and guard against the other dangers, too, with which they had threatened him. He then had prayers recited, gave them some instruction and embarked with his companions. They arrived safely at the Mission of St. Francis, at the head of Green Bay, where they found more than 2,000 Indian converts. They went up the Fox River, which was very difficult on account of the many rapids, strong current and rocks in the bed of the river, which, being sharp, cut their feet and injured their canoes, as they were obliged to drag them up stream.

Passing through Lake Winnebago, they entered the Upper Fox River and, on the 7th of June, arrived at the village of the Mashkoutens. It was situated about two miles from the river, on a rising piece of ground, which commanded a beautiful view of the surrounding country. There were three tribes at the village; the Mashkoutens, the Miami, and the Kikabous. The Miami are described by the Father as being brave, intelligent, civil and docile. The other two were rude and ignorant. He was agreeably surprised at seeing a large cross erected in the midst of the village. It was ornamented with all kinds of Indian presents in thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for their lucky chase during the past winter.

The headmen of the village were convoked and Jollyet told them he had been sent by the Governor of Canada to discover new lands. Father Marquette said he had been sent on the part of God, to enlighten them with the light of the Holy Gospel. "The master of our lives," he said to them, "desires to be known by all the nations. To obey His will, I fear not

death, to which I am exposing myself in making such a perilous voyage." They then gave the Indians a present, asking them for two guides to put them on the way. The Indians answered them civilly, offered them a mat as a present, and gave them two Miami guides, who went with them some nine miles, as far as the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin, helped them to transport their baggage across this portage, and then returned to their village.

Father Marquette and his companions knelt down and most earnestly invoked the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, placing themselves and the success of their enterprise under her protection. This they did every day during their journey. They then encouraged one another, and embarked in their frail birch canoes on the Meskonsing (Wisconsin), June the 10th. Thirty leagues down the river they found indications of rich iron-ore.

On the 17th of June, 1673, their canoes glided into the Mississippi, at about 42° 30′ of latitude. Father Marquette's heart felt an indescribable joy. What he had longed and prayed for, during so many years, he now saw fulfilled. He beheld the "Great River" of which he had heard so many strange tales. Floating down the river, they found at 42° the country level, and saw numerous deer, elks, wild geese, swans, monstrous fish, one of which struck his little birch canoe so rudely that he thought he had run against a snag. At 41° 26′ he found turkeys and buffaloes; of the latter he once saw a herd of four hundred. To guard against being surprised by hostile Indians, they used only to make a small fire towards night, to prepare their scanty meal, and then they slept in their canoes, which they anchored out in the river, far enough away from the shore.

They had traveled over one hundred leagues on the Wisconsin and Mississippi without seeing a single human being. Finally on the 25th of June, they discovered foot-prints on the beach, a beaten path leading into a beautiful prairie country. They stopped, examining the path, and concluded that it led to some Indian village. Father Marquette and Jollyet followed the path, leaving their companions at the river side, cautioning them to be on their guard. No doubt their hearts throbbed more violently, not knowing what reception awaited them at the hands of a savage and unknown tribe. Silently they walked on for about two leagues when they descried a

village[1] on the banks of a river and two others half a league farther away. They then recommended themselves most fervently to God, imploring His divine help. They approached so near the village without being observed, that they could hear the Indians talking. They then stopped and hallooed as loud as they could, to make their presence known. At this cry the Indians ran out of their cabins. They probably recognized them at once as Frenchmen, especially as they noticed Father Marquette's cassock, and accordingly knew him to be a Black-gown.

The Indians deputed four old men to go and speak to the pale-faced strangers. Two of them carried pipes ornamented with feathers. Walking very slowly they now and then raised their pipes toward the sun, as if offering it to that luminary to smoke, but said not a word. When near, they stood still and regarded the two strange visitors from head to foot. Father Marquette seeing by these ceremonies, that the Indians regarded them with favor, and noticing moreover that they had several articles of European manufacture, he judged they were on friendly terms with the French. He therefore broke silence, asking them who they were. They said they were Illinois, and, offering them as a mark of friendship the calumet, or pipe of peace, they invited them to their village.

At the door of the cabin which they were to enter, stood an old man, his hands open and stretched out towards the sun, as if to ward off his rays, which, nevertheless, passed between his extended fingers and lit up his face. When the Father and his companion approached, the old man addressed them as follows: "How beautiful, O Frenchman, is the sun, when thou comest to visit us! All our village awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace." He then led them into his cabin, where a great crowd, as Father Marquette graphically describes it, devoured them with their eyes. They observed profound silence; however, occasionally these words were heard, spoken in a low voice: "How good it is, brothers, that you visit us." They then offered their visitors the pipe of peace to smoke which Father Marquette and his col-

1 This village, called by Marquette Pewarea (Peoria), was situated at the mouth of Des Moines River, Iowa; further up the river were the Moingwena or Moingonan, after whom the river was named.

league accepted, after which all the headmen smoked in honor of their guests.

Soon an invitation came from the head chief of the tribe to visit his village, as he desired to hold a council with them. On their way thither, the two were accompanied by the whole village. The people who had never seen a Frenchman before, could not satisfy themselves looking at the strangers. Some would sit down on the grass along the path, where they were to pass by, others would run ahead and then turn back to meet them, thus to get a good look at them. But all this was done noiselessly and in a most respectful manner.

When they arrived at the village of the great chief, they saw him standing in front of his cabin in the midst of two old men, with their calumet turned towards the sun. He bade them welcome in a neat little speech and offered them his pipe to smoke.

Seeing them all assembled and silent, Father Marquette spoke to them by four presents, which he gave them. By the first he told them that he and his party were traveling in peace to visit the nations that lived along the great river as far as the sea. By the second present, he told them that God who had created them had compassion on them, since after so long a time in which they had been ignorant of Him, He willed to make himself known to all these people; that he was sent, on the part of God for this very purpose, and that it was for them to recognize and obey Him. By the third present he said that the great chief of the French informed them it was he that made peace everywhere, having subdued the Iroquois. Finally, by the fourth, he requested them to give him all the information they could about the sea and the nations whom they would have to pass to get there.

When Father Marquette had concluded his discourse, the chief arose and, laying his hand on the head of a little slave whom he meant to give them as a present, he spoke as follows:

"I thank thee, Black-gown and thee, Frenchman, — addressing M. Jollyet,—for having taken so much trouble to come and visit us. Never was the earth so beautiful, nor the sun so bright as today; never was our river so calm nor so free from rocks, which your canoes have removed in passing by; never had our tobacco so good a flavor, nor did our corn appear so flourishing as we now see it. Behold, here is my

son, whom I give to thee, that thou mayest know my heart. I implore thee to have pity on me and all my people. Thou knowest the great Spirit who made us all ; thou speakest to him and hearest His word. Ask Him to grant me life and health, and do thou come and live with us to make us know Him."

The chief then placed the little slave near them. As a second present he gave them the mysterious calumet, which they prize more highly than a slave. By this present he showed his great respect for the French governor. By the third present, he begged of them on the part of all his people, not to go any further, on account of the great danger to which they would expose themselves. The Father replied that he feared not death, and esteemed no happiness greater than that of sacrificing his life for the glory of Him who made all things. This was a thing beyond their comprehension.

The council was followed by a great banquet, consisting of four dishes, which had to be taken Indian-fashion. The first dish was a large wooden plate of sagamity, that is, corn-meal boiled in water and seasoned with fat. The master of ceremonies put a spoonful of it three or four times into the Father's mouth, as one would feed a little child ; he did the same to Jollyet. The second dish was a plate of fish; the master of ceremonies took some choice pieces, removing the bones, blew upon them to cool them, and then put some into their mouths. The third dish consisted of a large dog, which had been hastily killed and prepared for the occasion, but, learning that their guests did not relish dog meat, it was removed. The fourth was buffalo meat, of which he put the fattest pieces into their mouths.

The banquet over, they had to visit the whole village, which consisted of three hundred lodges. An orator continually harangued the multitude, to look at them well, but not to molest them. Everywhere they received presents of belts and other articles made of bear and buffalo-skins, dyed red, yellow and gray. At night they slept in the cabin of the chief, when morning returned they took leave of these kind-hearted people, telling them they would return in four months, and the Father promising to come and live with them the next year. On their way to their canoes they were accompanied by some six hundred persons, who manifested

the joy which the visit of the Father had given them in every way possible.

They left the village of the Illinois at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th of July. Some distance above the Missouri they beheld two horrid looking monsters of the size of a calf, painted on the side of the bluff facing the river. Their horns and head resembled that of a roe-buck; their look was terrifying; eyes red, beard like that of a tiger, face somewhat human-like. Their body was covered with scales, and their tail so long, that it passed around their body, over their head, and turning back between their legs termininated like the tail of a fish. Green, red and black were the colors used. They were painted so well that the Father thought the work could not have been executed by Indians.

Whilst they were conversing on those horrible-looking monsters, their canoes gently floating down the river with the current, they heard the noise of a rapid stream emptying into the Mississippi. This was the Pekitanoui,[1] a large river coming from the northwest. "I never saw anything more frightful," says he in his journal, "a confused mass of whole trees, branches, floating islets, etc., issued forth from the mouth of the river with such impetuosity that it was impossible to cross over without great danger."

Having traveled about twenty leagues due south and a little less to the southeast, they came to the river called Ouaboukigou,[2] the mouth of which was at about 36 degrees of latitude. Before arriving there they had to pass a place much dreaded by the Indians, because they think there is a manitou, that is, a demon, who devours such as attempt to pass by there. This terrible manitou was a bay with rocks some twenty feet high, into which the whole current of the river precipitated itself through a narrow channel, causing a fearful roaring and splashing, which struck terror into the heart of the untutored child of nature. This was the manitou spoken of by the Menominees, when they tried to dissuade the Father from undertaking his voyage of discovery. He

1 Pekitanoui, the Missouri. Father Marquette had now reached the junction of the Missouri and the Mississippi.

2 Ouaboukigou, pronounced Wah-boo-ke-goo, "The Ohio, or beautiful river, as that Iroquois name signifies. The name given by Marquette became finally Ouabache (pronounced Wah-bash), in our spelling Wabash, and is now applied to the last tributary of the Ohio." (Shea's Discovery and Explor. of the Miss., p. 41.)

passed these dangerous rapids safely and arrived at the mouth of the Ouaboukigou, a river coming from the east, where the Chaouanons,[1] a very populous tribe, dwelt. In one locality there were twenty three villages of that tribe, and in another fifteen. They were peaceable and inoffensive; hence the Iroquois used sometimes to go even as far as their country to secure prisoners, whom they would cruelly burn at the stake. A little above this river they found indications of rich iron-ore. They began to suffer very much from mosquitoes and the heat, which obliged them to construct a kind of tent on their canoes to protect themselves from this double plague.

As they were gently floating down the river in their canoes, they suddenly beheld some Indians armed with guns. The Father held up the calumet he had received at the village of the Illinois, whilst his companions prepared to defend themselves. He spoke to the Indians in Huron, but they did not answer. Their silence was interpreted at first as a declaration of war. It seemed, however, these Indians were as much frightened as their French visitors. Finally the latter were given to understand that they should land and eat with the Indians. They did so and were regaled with buffalo meat, bear oil, and white plums of an excellent flavor. The Indians had guns, axes, hoes, knives, beads, and glass bottles, in which they carried their gun-powder. They told Marquette they obtained those articles from Europeans[2] living eastward from there; that those people had rosaries and images and played musical instruments; and some of them were dressed like him. Father Marquette instructed them somewhat and gave them some medals.

This information aroused the party to fresh exertions and made them ply their oars with renewed vigor. Both sides of the river were lined with cottonwood and elm trees of wonderful height and thickness. They could hear the bellowing of herds of buffalo; hence they concluded that the country a little back from the river was prairie-land.

At about 33 degrees of latitude they saw a village near the river, called Mitchigamea. Perceiving the strangers the Indians quickly prepared to fight. They were armed with bows and arrows, tomahawks and war-clubs. They jumped

1 Pronounced Shah-wah-nons, *i. e.* Shawnees, "Southerners."

2 These Europeans were probably Spaniards residing in Florida.

into their large wooden canoes; some of them occupied the river below, whilst others hastened to station themselves above the party, so as to cut off their retreat. Those on the land ran back and forward, shouting and animating one another to fight. Some young men even jumped into the river to seize Father Marquette's canoe, but the current being too strong they had to swim back to the shore. One of them threw his war-club at the party, without however hitting anyone. In this great danger the Father most fervently invoked the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, while continually showing the calumet. At length it was seen by some of the old men, who then restrained the young. Two of the head men got into his canoe, throwing down their bows at his feet to give him to understand that no harm would be done to him and his party. They all disembarked, not, however, without some feeling of fear on the part of the Father. He spoke to them by signs, as they did not understand any one of the six languages he knew. Finally an old man was found who could speak a little Illinois. The Father then told them, by the presents he made, that he was on his way to the sea, and he gave them some instruction on God and the affairs of their salvation. All the answer he received was that eight or ten leagues further down the river he would find a large village called Akamsea,[1] where he would get all the information he desired. The Indians offered them some sagamity and fish, and the party stayed at the village over night with considerable uneasiness of mind.

Early next morning they embarked, accompanied by an interpreter and ten Indians in a canoe, who rowed a little ahead. Having arrived within half a league of Akamsea, they saw two canoes coming to meet them. The headman stood up in his canoe and showed them the calumet. He then sang an agreeable song, offered them the pipe of peace to smoke, and then served them with sagamity and corn-bread, whereof they partook a little. The people in the village in the meanwhile had prepared a suitable place under the scaffold of the chief warrior. They spread out fine mats made of rushes, on which the Father and his companions were invited to sit. Around them sat the chiefs of the tribe,

1 Akamsea or Akansea was located opposite the mouth of the Arkansas River, named after them, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi.

further back the warriors, and behind them the rest of the people. Luckily he found there a young man, who could speak Illinois better than the interpreter whom they had brought along from Mitchigamea. Him the Father employed as his interpreter, and he spoke to the Akamseas by the presents which are generally made on such occasions. They wondered at what he told them about God and the mysteries of faith, and manifested a great desire to keep him with them in order to be instructed.

The Indians told him that they were ten days' journey from the sea, but the Father thought they could have made it in five. They said they were not acquainted with the tribes that dwelt there, because their enemies hindered them from having any intercourse with the Europeans there ; that the axes, knives and beads they saw had been sold to them by tribes living towards the east and partly by a village of the Illinois, four days' journey from there towards the west; that the Indians whom they had seen with guns were their enemies, who cut them off from all intercourse and trade with the Europeans ; finally, that it would be dangerous to go any further, because their enemies continually sent out war-parties on the river, whom they could not encounter, armed with guns as they were and accustomed to war, without exposing themselves to great danger.

These Indians were very poor, having only corn and watermelons, with but little flesh, as they dared not hunt the buffalo on account of their more powerful enemies; still they treated their guests as well as their poverty permitted. The chief diet of the people consisted of corn, which grows here at almost all seasons of the year. They had large earthen pots very well made, also plates of baked earth, which they used for a great many purposes. The men wore small strings of beads hanging from their nose and ears. The women dressed in poor, shabby looking skins, braided their hair in two tresses back of their ears, and had no finery of any kind to ornament themselves with. The Father found their language extremely hard to learn, some words being simply unpronounceable. Their cabins were constructed of bark and were quite large. They slept some two feet above ground on a rude kind of bedstead or scaffold constructed at both ends of the lodge.

In the evening some of the head men held a secret council, designing to kill Marquette and his party, in order to pillage their goods. The chief, however, stopped the proceedings, sent for his French guests and danced the calumet dance in their presence, as a mark of their safety under his protection. To remove all fear, he made a present of the pipe to the Father.

Father Marquette and Jollyet deliberated amongst themselves whether they had better push on further or return home. Finding themselves in 33 degrees and 40 minutes of latitude, they felt confident that they were not far from the Gulf of Mexico, about two or three days' journey. Moreover, they were convinced that the Mississippi empties into said gulf and not towards Virginia nor California, whose latitude they had already passed. On the other hand, by pushing on further they might meet with hostile Indians or fall into the hands of the Spaniards, who, no doubt, would hold them captives, as intruders into a territory discovered and claimed by them, in which case they would lose the fruit of all their labors. They had explored the great river from the mouth of the Wisconsin to that of the Arkansas; they had learned all they wished to know as to the people that lived along its banks, and had entered into friendly alliance with them all in the name of the governor of Canada; the main object of the voyage having been realized, they determined to turn back and report to their respective superiors the result of their labors.

Having rested a day at the village of the Akamsea, they left there on the 17th of July, having spent an entire month exploring the Mississippi, the Father preaching the Gospel, as much as circumstances permitted, to the various tribes they met with. They revisited the friendly Illinois at their village of Peourea,[1] where they had been so kindly received on their down-river trip. Father Marquette stopped with them three days, preaching to them and instructing them. He baptized a dying child which they brought to him just as he was about to embark. The saving of this innocent

1 Father Marquette remarks that on his return trip he entered a beautiful river rising near the Lake of the Illinois, the Illinois. He had, however, promised to visit the Illinois of Pewarea, or Peourea, in four moons, and it is very probable that he did so, in order to instruct those good people who had received him so kindly. It may be, however, that he met a band of said Indians somewhere on the Illinois.

soul recompensed him, as he says, abundantly for all the hardships of his journey.

At 38 degrees they entered the Illinois River, to return home by a shorter route. The Father speaks most highly of the beautiful country through which this river runs. He saw there wild cattle, deer, lynxes, geese, ducks, parrots and beaver. He found on the river a village of the Illinois, called Kaskaskia,[1] containing some seventy-four lodges, where he was very well received. He promised to return and instruct them, which he did in 1675. One of the chiefs with some young men accompanied the Father, assisting them in making the portage between the head-waters of the Illinois River and Lake Michigan. Coasting along the eastern shore of said lake, they arrived safely at the Mission of St. Francis Xavier, at the head of Green Bay, towards the end of September, having left there towards the beginning of June.

CHAPTER XXXII.

LAST VOYAGE OF FATHER MARQUETTE.—HE FOUNDS THE MISSION OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION AMONG THE ILLINOIS AND DIES ON HIS WAY BACK TO MACKINAW.

After his return from his trip down the Mississippi, Father Marquette staid at the Mission of St. Francis Xavier, at the head of Green Bay, from September, 1673, till October, 1674. The hardships endured on his voyage had given him the dysentery. However, in September, 1674, he felt better. He sent the journal of his trip down the Mississippi to his Superior, awaiting his orders as to where he was to winter. The order came, though at a rather late season of the year, to go to Illinois and establish the Mission of the Immaculate Conception. This was joyful news to him, as it enabled him to fulfill the promise he had made to those good Indians to come and instruct them.

1 "It must be borne in mind that Marquette's Peoria and his and Allouez' town of Kaskaskia are quite different from the present places of the name in situation." Marquette's Kaskaskia was on the Illinois and Peoria on the west side of the Mississippi. ("Discovery," p. 51.)

He left St. Francis Xavier on the 25th of October, 1674, with two Frenchmen, Pierre Porteret and Jacques. At the mouth of the Fox River he learned that five canoes of the Pottawatamis and four of the Illinois had already started for Kaskaskia. On the 27th they overtook the Indians at Sturgeon Bay, where there was a portage of about three miles to Lake Michigan. Owing to the inclement weather and bad roads, it took three days before the whole party, Whites and Indians, had transported their canoes and baggage across the portage to the lake. October 31st they commenced their journey southward along the western shore of Lake Michigan. The Father most of the time walked along the beach, except where a river had to be crossed. November 1st, All Saints' Day, he said Mass at the mouth of a small river, probably where Kewaunee now stands. On All Soul's Day he said Mass at the mouth of another river, probably Two Rivers.

Their progress was very slow on account of the rough weather on the lake. At one time they had to camp five days, and soon after again three days. It took them over a month to go from the portage of Sturgeon Bay to Chicago River. On the 23d of November he had an attack of diarrhea, which finally turned into dysentery. On the 4th of December they reached Chicago River, from which there is a short portage to the Illinois, on which Kaskaskia was situated. He wintered at the portage some six miles down the river, being too weak, on account of his illness, to go any farther. On the 15th of December the Illinois[1] left him to proceed to their village. He was thus left alone with his two faithful companions. He sent word to the Illinois that he would let them know next spring when he would be at their village. On the 14th of December his old malady, the dysentery, came on. Two Frenchmen who were trading with the Illinois, hearing of the Father's sickness, did all they could to relieve him, sending him a bag of corn and other refreshments.

On the 26th of January, 1675, three Illinois brought him presents from the chiefs of the tribe, namely, two sacks of corn, some dried meat, pumpkins and twelve beavers.

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1 The "Relations" always spell the word "Illinois" with one "l," though now it is always spelled with double "ll."

They asked him for gun-powder and merchandise. This shows how little they understood the real object of his visit. He sent word to the Illinois that he had come to instruct them, not to trade with them; that he would not give them powder, as he and his countrymen came to establish peace everywhere, and that he did not wish to see them begin war with the Miamis; moreover that he did not apprehend any danger of famine, and, finally, that he would encourage the French to trade with them, but they should compensate the latter for the beads they had taken from them, whilst one of them, called the Surgeon, had come to see him. Considering, however, they had come sixty miles to see him, he gave them as presents an ax, two knives, three jack-knives, ten strings of beads and two double mirrors.

Some time after Christmas he and his two faithful companions made a novena in honor of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate to obtain, through her intercession, the grace not to die without having taken possession of his beloved Mission. Their prayers were not in vain; he recovered sufficiently to enable him to go to the Illinois village. Speaking of that long dreary winter in his poor bark cabin, he says: "The Holy Virgin Immaculate has taken such care of us during our winter here that we have had no want of provisions, having yet (March 30th) a large bag of corn, some meat and fat. We have got along very nicely, my ailment not having hindered me from saying Mass every day. We have only been able to keep the Fridays and Saturdays of Lent." He had all along a presentiment of his death, for he told his companions plainly that he would die of his ailment, and on that very journey. He made the spiritual retreat of St. Ignatius with great devotion and consolation, said Mass every day, confessed and communicated his two companions twice a week, and spent the most of the time in prayer.

On the 29th of March he set out and traveled on the Illinois for eleven days, amidst great suffering. Finally, on the 8th of April, he reached Kaskaskia, where he was received as an angel from Heaven. He went from cabin to cabin, instructing the Indians in our holy faith. Several times, also, he assembled the chiefs and head-men, explaining to them the truth of religion. At length, on Holy Thursday, he convened a general assembly of all the people

in an open prairie near the village. Mats and bear-skins were spread on the ground for the people to sit on. The Father attached four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin to a pole, so as to be seen by all the people. The auditory consisted of five hundred chiefs and head-men, seated in a circle around the Father. Fifteen hundred young men stood outside this circle, besides a very great number of women and children.

He spoke ten words to them by ten presents that he made them. He discoursed on the principal truths of religion and dwelt especially on the death of Jesus Christ on the cross, for man's redemption. After the sermon he offered up the Holy Sacrifice. On Easter Sunday another great meeting of the Indians took place, at which he said mass again and preached to his Indian hearers with the fiery zeal of an apostle. The good people listened to the Father with great joy and approbation. He told them he was obliged to leave, on account of his ailment, and how happy he felt at their receiving so well the instructions he gave them. They begged of him to return as soon as possible. He promised to do so, or if he should not be able to come himself, then some other Father would take his place and instruct them. They escorted him more than thirty leagues of the way, contending with one another for the honor of carrying his little baggage.

We shall give the particulars of Father Marquette's death in the words of the "Relations."

"After the Illinois had taken leave of the Father, he continued his voyage and soon after reached the Illinois Lake (Lake Michigan), on which he had nearly a hundred leagues to make by an unknown route, because he was obliged to take the eastern side of the lake, having gone thither by the western. His strength, however, failed so much, that his men despaired of being able to bring him alive to their journey's end; for, in fact, he became so weak and exhausted that he could no longer help himself, nor even stir, and had to be handled and carried like a child.

"He, nevertheless, maintained in this state an admirable equanimity, joy and gentleness, consoling his beloved companions and exhorting them to suffer courageously all the hardships of the way assuring them moreover, that our Lord would not forsake them when he would be gone. During his navigation he began to prepare more particularly for

death, passing his time in colloquies with our Lord, His holy mother, his angel guardian and all Heaven. He was often heard pronouncing these words: "I believe that my Redeemer liveth," or "Mary, Mother of Grace, Mother of God, remember me." Besides a spiritual reading made for him every day, he, toward the close, asked them to read him his meditation on the preparation for death, which he carried about him; he recited his breviary every day; and, although he was so low that both sight and strength had greatly failed, he did not omit it till the last day of his life, when his companions induced him to cease, as it was shortening his days.

"A week before his death he had the precaution to bless some holy water, to serve him during the rest of his illness, in his agony, and at his burial, and he instructed his companions how to use it. The eve of his death, which was a Friday, he told them, all radiant with joy, that it would take place on the morrow. During the whole day he conversed with them about the manner of his burial, the way in which he should be laid out, the place to be selected for his interment; he told them how to arrange his hands, feet and face and directed them to raise a cross over his grave. He even went so far as to enjoin them, only three hours before he expired, to take his chapel-bell as soon as he would be dead, and ring it while they carried him to the grave. Of all this he spoke so calmly and collectedly, that you would have thought he spoke of the death and burial of another, and not of his own.

"Thus did he speak with them as they sailed along the lake, till, perceiving the mouth of a river, with an eminence on the bank which he thought suited to his burial, he told them it was the place of his last repose. They wished, however, to pass on, as the weather permitted it, and the day was not far advanced; but God raised a contrary wind, which obliged them to return and enter the river[1] pointed out by Father Marquette. They then carried him ashore, kindled a little fire, and raised a wretched bark cabin for him, where they laid him as little uncomfortably as they could; but they were

1 "A marginal note says: 'This river now bears the Father's name.' It was indeed long called Marquette River, but from recent maps the name seems to have been forgotten. Its Indian name is Notispescago, and according to others, Aniniondibeganining. It is a very small stream, not more than fifteen paces long, being the outlet of a small lake, as Charlevoix assures us." (Shea's "Discovery, etc." p. 58.)

so overcome by sadness, that, as they afterwards said, they did not know what they were doing.

" The father being thus stretched on the shore, like St. Francis Xavier, as he had always so ardently desired, and left alone amid those forests—for his companions were engaged in unloading—he had leisure to repeat all the acts in which he had employed himself during the preceding days. When his dear companions afterwards came up, quite dejected, he consoled them and gave them hopes that God would take care of them after his death, in those new and unknown countries. He gave them his last instructions, thanked them for all the charity they had shown him during the voyage, begged their pardon for the trouble he had given them, and directed them also to ask pardon in his name of all our Fathers and Brothers in the Ottawa country, and then disposed them to receive the sacrament of penance, which he administered to them for the last time. He also gave them a paper on which he had written all his faults since his last confession, to be given to his superior to oblige him to pray more fervently for him. In fine he promised not to forget them in Heaven, and as he was very kind-hearted and knew them to be worn out with the toil of the preceding days, he bade them go and take a little rest, assuring them that his hour was not so near, but that he would wake them when it was time, as, in fact, he did two or three hours after, calling them when about to enter his agony.

When they came near he embraced them for the last time, while they melted into tears at his feet. He then asked for the holy water and his reliquary, and taking off his crucifix, which he wore around his neck, he placed it in the hands of one, asking him to hold it constantly opposite him, raised before his eyes. Then, feeling that he had but little time to live, he made a last effort, clasped his hands, and, with his eyes fixed sweetly on his crucifix, he pronounced aloud his profession of faith, and thanked the Divine Majesty for the immense grace He did him in allowing him to die in the Society of Jesus; to die in it as a missionary of Jesus Christ, and, above all, to die in it, as he had always asked, in a wretched cabin, amid the forests, destitute of all human aid.

"On this, he became silent, conversing inwardly with God; yet from time to time words escaped him, "Sustinuit anima mea in verbo ejus—my soul hath relied on His word," or

"Mater die, memento mei—Mother of God, remember me," which were the last words he uttered before entering on his agony, which was very calm and gentle. He had prayed his companions to remind him, when they saw him about to expire, to pronounce frequently the names of Jesus and Mary. When he could not do it himself, they did it for him; and when they thought him about to die, one cried aloud: Jesus, Maria, which he several times repeated distinctly, and then, as if, at those sacred names, something had appeared to him, he suddenly raised his eyes above his crucifix, fixing them apparently on some object which he seemed to regard with pleasure, and thus, with a countenance all radiant with smiles, he expired without a struggle, as gently as if he had sunk into a quiet sleep (May 18, 1675)."

"His two poor companions, after shedding many tears over his body, and, having laid it out as he had directed, carried it devoutly to the grave, ringing the bell according to his injunction, and raised a large cross near it, to serve as a mark for passers-by. When they talked of embarking, one of them, who for several days had been overwhelmed with sadness, and so racked in body by acute pains that he could neither eat nor breathe without pain, resolved, whilst his companion was preparing all for embarkation, to go to the grave of his good Father, and pray him to intercede for him with the glorious Virgin, as he had promised, not doubting that he was already in Heaven. He, accordingly, knelt down, said a short prayer, and having respectfully taken some earth from the grave, he put it on his breast, whereupon the pain immediately ceased; his sadness was changed into joy, which continued during the rest of his voyage.

"God did not choose to suffer so precious a deposite to remain unhonored and forgotten amid the woods. The Kiskakon Indians, who for the last ten years publicly professed Christianity, in which they were first instructed by Father Marquette, when stationed at La Pointe du Saint Esprit at the extremity of Lake Superior, were hunting last winter on the banks of Lake Illinois. As they were returning early in spring, they resolved to pass by the tomb of their good Father, whom they tenderly loved, and God even gave them the thought of taking his remains and bringing them to our church at the Mission of St. Ignatius, at Missilimakinac, where they reside.

"They according repaired to the spot and after some deliberation, they resolved to proceed with their Father, as they usually do with those whom they respect. They opened the grave, divested the body, and though the flesh and intestines were all dried up, they found it whole, the skin being in no way injured. This did not prevent their dissecting it, according to custom. They washed the bones and dried them in the sun. Then putting them neatly in a box of birch-bark, they set out to bear them to the house of St. Ignatius."

"The convoy consisted of nearly thirty canoes in excellent order, including even a good number of Iroquois, who had joined our Algonquins, to honor the ceremony. As they approached our house, Father Nouvel, who is Superior, went to meet them with Father Pierson, accompanied by all the French and Indians of the place. Having caused the convoy to stop, they made the ordinary interrogations to verify the fact that the body which they bore was really Father Marquette's. Then, before landing, he intoned the "De Profundis" in sight of the thirty canoes still on the water, and of all the people on the shores. After this, the body was carried to the church, observing all that the ritual prescribes for such ceremonies. It remained exposed under a pall stretched as if over a coffin all that day, which was Pentecost-Monday, the 8th of June (1677). The next day, when all the funeral honors had been paid it, it was deposited in a little vault in the middle of the church, where he reposes as the guardian-angel of our Ottawa Missions. The Indians often come to pray on his tomb."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

DISCOVERY OF FATHER MARQUETTE'S GRAVE AT POINT ST. IGNACE, MICH. LETTER OF VERY REV. FATHER E. JACKER TO THE WRITER, GIVING A FULL ACCOUNT OF SAID DISCOVERY MADE BY HIM.

EAGLE HARBOR, MICH., May 4, 1886.

Rev. Father Chrysostom Verwyst, O. S. F., Bayfield, Wis.

Rev. Dear Father: You wish to learn something reliable about the discovery of Father Marquette's grave, nine years ago, and about the little share I had in the matter. Want of time compels me to be brief.

Up to the time when I took charge of the Mackinac and St. Ignace missions (in 1873), I had given but little attention to the question concerning the locality of Father Marquette's Mission and the church in which his remains were deposited (June 8, 1677); hence I had no preconceived opinion in the matter. It was rather news to me that a local Indian and French tradition pointed to *the head of East Moran Bay* (south of which the present church and most of the village of St. Ignace are located) as the site of the old Jesuit Chapel and the grave of a great priest (Kitchi Mekatewikwanaie). This tradition certainly existed as early as 1821; for about that time an Indian, Joseph Misatago (a very honest and intelligent man, still living) met Father Richard (of Detroit) lost in the woods back of East Moran Bay, whither he had gone "in search of any traces that might exist of the church, where they said the "great priest" was buried." Moreover, within the memory of some old persons a squaw was living in the neighborhood of St. Ignace at a very advanced age, who asserted to have in her childhood (probably about, or even before, the middle of the last century) seen a large cross standing on or near the beach of the bay, and that this cross marked the site of a church that once existed there. The Indian name itself of that little bay goes far to show that its shores were once inhabited by Father Marquette's Huron flock, for the Ottawas, who settled in the neighborhood a little later, called it "The little Bay of the

Huron Squaws," *i. e.* where those squaws went for water (Nadowekweiamishing).

The study of the Jesuits Relations (1671–79) soon convinced me that the tradition rested on a solid foundation. From these records, whose truthfulness has never been questioned by any man of sense and learning, it plainly appears that the mission chapel built by Father Nouvel about 1674, in which Father Marquette's bones were buried, stood not, as some have supposed, on the Island of Mackinac, or on the apex of the southern peninsula, commonly called Old Mackinac, but on the point north of the strait, then, as now, called Point St. Ignace. The exact spot, however, could not be made out from the description of the mission in the *Relations*. That second church was built at some little distance from the bark chapel, provisionally put up in the winter of 1673. Close to the church, the Tionontate Hurons, with whom that Father had come from Chagaouamigong, lived in a fortified village. And within sight of that village, probably in front of the church, a large cross was erected about 1678. This is about all that could be gathered from the Relations.

My own and Father Dwyer's investigations and vain endeavors to find traces of the old mission (the site of which we erroneously surmised to have been on higher ground), helped at least to create a lively interest in the matter, and to keep the people upon the alert for any chance "find." All we ascertained was the former existence of an extensive Indian village on the bluff overlooking the part of St. Ignace, called *Vide Poche*, north of the bay of a fortified hill, a good quarter of a mile west of the bay, and of a long line of pallisades on the low, level ground at the head of the bay. The vestiges of the latter were still visible in the shape of a low, straight ridge, running south and north; and the Murray brothers (the owners of the ground) assured us that they had, in that neighborhood, plowed up decayed cedar posts. In digging a cellar (in front of what we now believe to have been the Jesuits' church), Mr. David Murray, Sr., had even struck a grave once occupied, to judge from silken stuffs and gold borders found in it, by some person of distinction. Here then in front of the Church, as was once customary, the cemetery would seem to have been located. *The ground behind that spot was thickly grown over with shrubs and small evergreens.* It was there the discovery was made.

In the evening of May 4th, 1877 (very nearly two hundred years after Father Marquette's burial), Peter Grondin, a half-breed, being occupied in clearing the ground for Mr. Patrick Murray, Jr., discovered the rude foundation of a building 36x40 in size, the smaller side facing the lake. Being advised of it, the following day I hastened to the spot.

The foundation consisted of flat limestones, mostly covered with sand or soil. There were no traces of a chimney—a proof that the building had not been an ordinary dwelling house. But immediately adjoining it, to the west, there were the plain traces of a larger building, divided into apartments and furnished with three fire places, one of which—to judge from broken implements found in it—had served as a forge. (The Jesuit brothers work at all trades.) At some little distance behind that complex of buildings, there were the remains of a "root-house." The whole plan looked ever so much like that of a church, an adjoining sacristy, and residence of priests, with workshops, a. s. f., all on a small scale. And now, our attention being sharpened, we also discovered, what we could have seen before—the traces of seven or eight small log houses, in the shape of square ridges, with a heap of stones—the ruins of a chimney on one side, and a hollow—the former cellar—in the middle. These buildings stood at some distance south of the presumed church. And north of it was the ground, cleared long before, where the stumps of cedar-posts had been plowed up.

A hollow, about five feet deep, in the south-west corner of the chimneyless building (just in front of the spot where, in our churches, the altar of the Blessed Virgin stands) had at once attracted my attention. But excavations were out of the question, as the owner of the ground had conscientious scruples in regard to having the presumable grave of a holy man disturbed. This gave me (and other persons who took an interest in the matter) ample time to search historical documents before digging up the ground.

The chief source for ascertaining the exact locality and the surroundings of the Jesuit mission was found in the second volume of La Hontan's Travels, which contains a description and plan of the Michilimackinac (or St. Ignace) settlement, as it was in 1688, eleven years after Father Marquette's burial. At the sight of that plan everything at once became clear. There were first, along the southern border of

the little bay, the small houses of the French traders; next, north of these, near the head of the bay, the Jesuits' chapel ("some sort of a church," as that writer saucily calls it); then, adjoining it to the north, but still on the level ground, the Hurons' fortified village; and farther off, on the higher ground north of the bay, the larger Ottawa village.[1] It was impossible not to recognize the perfect correspondence between that plan and the vestiges found on the spot; and every intelligent visitor of the ground during that summer (among them some historical students) declared himself convinced.[2]

At last Mr. Murray's scruples being removed, we obtained permission to excavate. Monday, Sept. 3, in the presence of probably not far from two hundred persons — people of the village and neighborhood, with a few tourists and other visitors from a distance — a ditch was drawn across the area of the presumed church; and no traces of former disturbance being found in the sandy and gravelly ground, the cellar-like hollow in the corner was attacked. The expectation was on tiptoe, for by that time almost every one present knew that Father Marquette's bones, having been brought to St. Ignace in a *birch bark box* (from his first grave in Lower Michigan) were buried together with that box in a *small cellar* under the Jesuits' church; and also that this church had been *destroyed by fire* (in 1705), and never after restored. Had those precious relics been removed before the fire by the missionaries themselves (who burned the chapel to prevent desecration after

1. The fortified hill north of the bay is not accounted for by La Hontan's plan. As this writer does not mention the existence of a French fort, at the time of his visit, it must be presumed that the fortified quarters of the French garrison, which certainly existed a few years later, were not yet built in 1688; and the circumstance that the spur-shaped hill in question is separated from the ground behind by a *very deep* ditch, makes it probable that this was the French fort mentioned in later reports. The *Indians* were not in the habit of intrenching themselves in that manner.

2. La Hontan has the name of an unreliable author. The facts are these: That flippant writer did not scruple to invent incidents and misrepresent facts, for the gratification of his vanity, or his rancor. Thus, for instance, he fabricated a most adventurous voyage on a western confluent of the Mississippi that has no existence, among impossible Indian tribes of culture, immense wealth, and ridiculously strange manners. But wherever these personal motives did not come into play, and where the discovery of falsehood would have been inevitable and imminent, he deserves as much credit as the average writer of travels of his time. Now, any fabrication relating to the post and mission of St. Ignace would at once have been discovered and exposed, and La Hontan knew that. Nor can there any personal motive be imagined that might have induced him to give a false description of the position of the several buildings and villages. Besides, to all appearance, his plan of Michilimackinac (St. Ignace) is borrowed from some contemporaneous topographer, and perfectly agrees with later descriptions, e. g. Cadillac's.

their departure), or after the destruction by other parties? Either was possible; but if the remains were gone, some trace of the grave or even the bark casket itself might be found.

The fact that the hollow referred to had been a cellar was soon placed beyond question by the digging up of two half decayed corner posts and pieces of plank, and by the exposure of the original level bottom four or five feet below the general surface, and covered with about a foot of decayed vegetable matter. On that floor quite a number of articles, the evident debris of a wooden building destroyed by fire, were found scattered, such as nails, spikes, the hinge of a door, broken glassware, blackened pieces of mortar (still plainly showing the imprint of cedar logs, the interstices between which they had once filled), superficially burnt pieces of small timber, etc. Finally near the western end of the cellar, a parched piece of birch bark came to sight, soon followed by others of various size, mostly all more or less scorched. Some of them showed on one side sharply cut edges and inverted borders, and on being handed to Indians or half-breeds present, were declared by them to be fragments of a large and strong box (*makak*). Almost all of these pieces were found *underneath* the floor of the cellar, in a space evidently once dug out for the purpose of burrying something, and now filled with loose, blackened sand, quite different from the surrounding clean and pebbly ground. Mixed with that sand and these shreds of bark there were many small globular pieces of apparently pure lime, quite soft and damp. (Possibly the box might have been covered with a thin layer of lime; this would help to account for the fact that the fire reached the box, which was not likely if it was covered with sand and gravel.) Within the same space we found two fragments of bone, about the size of the first and second link of your finger. At last, at a depth of about one and a half foot under the floor of the cellar, there appeared a large and strong piece of bark, scorched *on the upper surface only*. It rested perfectly level on three much decayed sticks, and was plainly still in the same position in which it had first been laid. This piece, about one and a half foot in length, plainly was but the fragment of a larger one, placed *under* the box, like the pieces of bark which you still see the Indians put on the bottom of graves. (It would not be strange at all, if the missionaries

had in that matter followed the Indian custom.) That it did not form part of the box was shown by one well preserved corner's being cut round with a knife. Below that piece the ground had not been disturbed.

A careful search within the space excavated under the floor of the cellar led to no further discovery. The evening being nearly spent, we left the ground with mixed feelings of sadness and joy. Our hopes of finding the remains of the saintly Father were disappointed, but all present were satisfied, from the overwhelming force of circumstantial evidence, that they had beheld the spot where Father Marquette's bones had been buried two hundred years ago, and touched the fragments of the box in which they had been placed for transportation from his first burying place.

Presuming to be the natural custodian of the articles found in the cellar, and with the silent consent of the owner of the grounds, I took the fragments of bones and birch bark along with me, and caused as much of the *debris* as I considered serviceable as pieces of evidence, to be brought to my house. The following morning duty called me away from home. But great was my surprise when upon my return, Wedesday evening, a young man of the place (Joseph Marly, now dead) came into my room to hand me a handkerchief full of blackened sand and dust, which he had scraped up from the bottom of the cellar, at some little distance from the deeper hollow, and which contained over thirty small pieces of bone from different parts of the human frame, such as the skull, the hands or feet, the limbs, the spine, etc. There was not one entire bone among them: they all looked like pieces dropped out of larger bones which had been cracked by the heat. Experts, to whom these fragments were handed for examination—one of them unaware, at the time, of the discovery and its circumstances—declared them to be human, very old, and acted upon by intense heat. A surgeon directed my attention to a cut made with some sharp instrument across the upper surface of a fragment of the *cranium*—perhaps by one of the Ottawas who dissected the body and scraped the skin off the bones before putting them into the box.

These bones, dug out the day after the discovery, had been covered with sand, in consequence of the caving-in of the western bank of the cellar, near which they lay, and towards which we had not extended our search. Their looks and the

stuff in which they were bedded, as well as the character of the finder (who neither expected, nor got any reward), left no room for the least suspicion of fraud. Besides, at the occasion of leveling the ground for the erection of a little monument, four years ago, a few more fragments of an exactly similar character were found.

May I suggest the circumstances which would seem to account for the scattering of these bones on the floor of the cellar, outside of the grave? It might have happened in this manner:

Some time after the destruction of the church and the departure of the missionaries (whose Christian flock had been persuaded by Cadillac to follow him to his new post of Pontchartrain, or Detroit), some of the remaining pagans, being aware of the remarkable cures wrought at the Father's tomb, may have removed his remains for the purpose of using them as charms, or for medicine—you know the custom of those poor people; or do they not, in your neighbood also, carry bones in their "medicine bags," or grind them to powder for external use, e. g. to cure the head-ache by the application of ground skull bones? Now, in taking the bones out of the grave, one of those Indians squatting in front of it, may have thrown them on the floor of the cellar, near the opposite bank; and there the small fragments, dropping off, remained, while the larger bones were distributed among the crowd and taken away. The shreds of the partly burned box which might have been thrown out, would have been washed back into the hollow by the rain, the small particles of bone—from the size of a pea to the larger link of your thumb—remaining imbedded in the sand, would seem to show that the work was done in haste, and not with that pious care which the missionaries would have employed had *they* effected the exhumation. Besides, they would, in all likelihood, have taken out the bones with the box (which after twenty-eight years must have been almost as good as new), *before*, with sad hearts, they set fire to their dear chapel. Perhaps you will ask, why they should not have done so, and taken the precious remains along with them to Canada. *We* would had done so undoubtedly; but it was not *their* custom. They left the bones of their fallen brethren, where they first laid them to rest, on the field, as it were, of battle. I know of one exception only, in the case of the martyred Brebeuf, whose skull was taken

from the shores of Lake Huron to Quebec. But his was an exceptional death also; nor is it certain that the relic was brought thither by *his brethren*. Father Marquette, whose fame towers now above that of his not less worthy companions in the western mission, on account of his journey of exploration, did not hold that prominent position two hundred years ago.

Is it then, you may ask, *absolutely* certain that the modest monument erected by the people of the neighborhood, in the city of St. Ignace, marks the true site of Father Marquette's grave? I am not yet prepared to say so. But I have not heard of, nor can I imagine, any circumstance connected with our search, that would warrant any *positive* doubt. Every thing it seems to me, answers the requirements of good circumstantial proof so nicely—thousands of judicial decisions are rendered on much slighter evidence—that mere chance could have brought about such an orderly combination of facts with as much probability only, as two alphabets of type, scattered on the ground, might be expected to form, in the proper succession of letters, the name of Marquette. If you or anybody else, are leaning more on the side of doubt, I shall not quarrel with you.

Some of the remains were re-interred under the monument, together with specimens of the *debris*. Other pieces are in the possession of a number of the admirers of Father Marquette, all over the country. The greatest and most interesting collection (the bones being arranged in a neat casket, presented for that purpose, by Rev. Father Faerber of St. Louis) will be piously preserved in the Marquette College of Milwaukee. I thought it would be safer there than in the hands of

Your friend, E. J.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSION OF THE HOLY GHOST UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF ST. JOSEPH, BY FATHER BARAGA; HIS SUCCESSORS; PRESENT STATE OF THE MISSION; CONCLUSION.

During 164 years the mission of the Holy Ghost at La Pointe du Saint Esprit was unattended, namely from 1671,

when Father Marquette left, until 1835, when Father, afterwards Bishop, Baraga arrived. There is no authentic record, nor even a tradition, that any Catholic priest ever visited this mission during the eighteenth century.

Bishop Baraga was born on the 29th of June, 1797, in the parish of Döbernik, Unterkrain, Austria. He studied law in Vienna, then theology in Laibach, where he was ordained in 1823. Having labored with great zeal for the salvation of souls in his fatherland for about seven years, he resolved to go to the United States, to labor for the conversion of the pagan Indians.

He left Vienna on the 12th of November, 1830, and, embarking at Havre de Grace, Dec. 1st, landed at New York, Dec. 31st. Partly by boat, partly by stage, he traveled via Philadelphia and Baltimore to Cincinnati, where he arrived in good health on the 18th of January, 1831. He was received with great kindness by Bishop Edward Fenwick, of Cincinnati. He describes the Bishop as a most humble, kind-hearted, pious and zealous prelate, who greatly rejoiced, when Father Baraga told him that he did not intend to stay in the city, but that he wished to go to the wild Indians. The Bishop promised to take him along on his next episcopal visitation to an Indian mission of his Diocese. During the winter Father Baraga attended to the spiritual wants of the German Catholics of Cincinnati, and studied the Ottawa language under an Indian seminarist, probably William Makatebinessi (Black Bird), a full-blooded Ottawa from Arbre Croche, who afterwards went to Rome to continue his studies, and there died of an injury received at the Corso races.

On the 21st of April, 1831, Father Baraga left Cincinnati to go to the Indian mission of Arbre Croche, "Waganakisi" (Crooked Tree), now Harbor Springs, where he arrived on the 28th of May. A few weeks later, Bishop Fenwick arrived, and installed the zealous priest as pastor of the Mission, to the great joy of the poor Indians. Father Baraga's heart overflowed with joy. "Happy day!" says he, writing to the Leopoldin Society, "happy day, which has placed me in the midst of the wild Indians, with whom I will stay, if it be the will of God, until the last breath of my life." Arbre Croche was an old Jesuit mission of the seventeenth century. In 1695 it used to be attended by the Fathers stationed at

Mackinaw, and the baptismal records are still preserved at St. Ignace. The first entries are of 1741, and the last of 1765, by Father du Jaunay, acting Curé of Michilimackinac.

Father Baraga loved his poor Indians with a warm-hearted affection, which was reciprocated by them. He praises their childlike attachment and humble obedience. They always addressed him with the endearing name of father, and behaved like good children towards him. His daily order was this: He said mass early, before which an Indian chief read aloud, out of a prayer-book, the morning prayers. Every evening the bell was rung, the Indians assembled in the chapel, devout hymns were sung and night-prayers said, after which the Father gave them catechetical instruction to ground them more and more in the knowledge and practice of religion. On Sundays they had devotions four times in the chapel, namely, early in the morning to say morning-prayers, then high mass at 10 a. m. Vespers at 3 o'clock with instruction; finally, at sunset, night-prayers. In the short space of two and a half months he baptized seventy-two Indians, old and young. He lived in the greatest poverty, a log-hut covered with bark being his pastoral residence. When it rained, he had to spread his cloak over his books and papers, to keep them from getting wet; yet he felt happier than many a millionaire in his palace. By Jan. 4, 1832, in seven months, he had baptized 131 Indians. Between April 22d and June 4th, 1832, he baptized again 109 pagans, most of whom were adults. Total number of baptisms in Abre Croche, 461.

In August, 1832, while the Arbre Croche Indians were on their yearly excursion to Canada, to receive the English gratuities, Father Baraga printed an Ottawa prayer and hymn book and catechism. When present in Detroit for this purpose, a priest of the city in a letter, thus briefly, but significantly, expressed himself on the character of his colleague: "Father Baraga is very poor and lives like a Trappist, but his happiness is immeasurably great."

In the autumn of 1833, having obtained a successor for his mission in the person of Father Saenderl, C. S. S. R., Father Baraga repaired to the large village on Grand River, near the present site of Grand Rapids, Mich., where in the preceding spring he had already instructed and baptized a hundred pagan Indians, in one day forty-six. He arrived there Sep-

tember 23d. Here he had to fight whiskey, and for this reason drew upon himself the hatred of liquor-traders and their victims, the poor, drunken, pagan Indians. He was no longer safe in his own house. One night a howling band of drunken savages came to take his life, but, finding it impossible to break open the door, they were obliged to desist. In sixteen months he baptized 170 persons and, finding a successor in Father Viszoczky, a Hungarian missioner, he prepared to go to La Pointe, Wis.

He had to wait for the opening of navigation, and in the meanwhile attended the white settlers on St. Claire River. His heart, however, was with the Indians of Lake Superior. He wrote from his mission on the St. Claire: "It appears strange to me to be in a congregation of whites. I live here in peace and am much more comfortable than among my Indians, but I feel like a fish thrown on dry land. The Indian mission is my life. Now, having learned the language tolerably well and being in hopes that I will perfect myself therein still more, I am firmly resolved to spend the remainder of my life in the Indian mission, if it be the will of God. I am longing for the moment of my departure for Lake Superior. Many, I hope, will there be converted to the religion of Christ, and will find in it their eternal salvation. Oh! How the thought elevates me! Would that I had wings to fly over our ice-bound lakes, so as to be sooner among the pagans! But what did I say? Many will be converted! Oh no! If only one or two were converted and saved, it would be worth while to go there and preach the gospel. But God, in his infinite goodness, always gives more than we expect."

On the 8th of June, 1835, Father Baraga left Detroit with as much money as would bring him to Lake Superior, and with a box of goods just received from Vienna, for his new mission. On the 27th of July he arrived at La Pointe after a tedious voyage of eighteen months, in a schooner on Lake Superior. Three dollars was all the money he had when he arrived at La Pointe. He found a motley crowd there,—French, half-breeds, Indians, Americans, etc. With his usual zeal he went to work to erect a log chapel, 50x20 ft. and 18 ft. high. The work began August 3rd and by the 9th of that same month the building was so far completed that he could say Mass in it on that day.

His time was spent during the winter in instructing his Indians, preparing the catechumens for baptism, and composing books for their instruction. He then wrote the following works: 1, an Otchipwe prayer and hymn-book and catechism, which even to this day is almost the only prayer-book the Indians of Lake Superior use; 2, an extract of the history of the Old and New Testament, and a translation of the epistles and gospels of the year in the same language; 3, a treatise on the history, character, manners and customs of the North-American Indians in German; 4, a popular devotional work in the Slavonic language. At a subsequent period he published four other valuable works: 1, a meditation book, and 2, a book of instruction on the principal events in the life of Christ, the doctrines of Faith, the Commandments of God and the Church, the Holy Sacraments; and short sermons against the principal vices among Indians, 3, an Otchipwe-English Dictionary; and 4, a Grammar of the Otchipwe language. These works show his great scholarship, mental activity, and great zeal for the conversion, enlightenment, and elevation of the Indian race.

Father Baraga's poverty at that period of his life reached an almost alarming degree. His food consisted principally of fish and bread, if both could be had together. At first he had two Germans, who used to stop with him, doing the cooking; afterwards his sister, who had been married to a German Count, then deceased, kept house for him about two years. Later he used to take his meals with Mrs. Perinier, a very pious and charitable lady, who is still alive (1886) and loves to speak of Father Baraga, his childlike simplicity, kindheartedness, zeal and labors. The people of La Pointe—we speak of the Indian portion of them—were then very poor. Many of their children ran about naked during the greatest part of the year, and in winter had barely a rag to cover their nakedness, to protect themselves against the rigors of these northern winters. This pained the kindhearted Father very much, especially as he had to witness the distress and starvation of whole families, without being able to do anything for them. His own clothes he managed to preserve a long time by great care and timely repairing.

On the 29th of September, 1836, he started for Europe to collect funds for his La Pointe mission. In the winter of 1836–37 he had the first four above-named works printed in

Paris. In his native country he was received with great distinction and listened to by immense crowds. In the spring of 1837 he was again on his way to Lake Superior, and on the 8th of October he arrived at La Pointe.

He worked incessantly at the conversion of the pagan Indians. From July 25, 1835 to January 1, 1836, he baptized 186 Indians, half-breeds and whites, many of them adults. In all, he baptized in this mission 981. During winter he used to travel on snow-shoes from mission to mission, along the southern shore of Lake Superior, suffering hunger, cold and other inexpressible hardships and privations. God alone knows all this saintly man did and suffered for the love of God and his dear Indians. His spare time he employed in teaching them to sing religious hymns for divine service and private devotion, and in making rosaries for them. He sometimes gave them his own dinner. On Sunday's a large pot of corn would be boiled for them, so that those who lived at a distance might not be obliged to go home after mass, but could stop at the presbytery, or near it, for vespers and sermon. Out of his own pocket he built for them fourteen neat log houses, besides giving them clothes, linen, etc., for their half-naked children. In fact, he gave them too much altogether—so to say—spoiled them through excessive kindness.

With the funds collected in Europe he finished his church in August, 1838, and the annexed presbytery, and on Sunday, September 2, of the same year it was dedicated to God under the patronage of St. Joseph. This was the old church—the *first* church ever built on La Pointe Island, for Father Marquette's chapel was not built on the island, as some erroneously imagine, but on the mainland, at the *head* of Ashland Bay, probably about six miles above Washburn, at the southwest corner of the bay; neither is there any part of Marquette's Chapel, nor are there any materials thereof in the present church of La Pointe, as such were not even in the old chapel, built alongside the Indian cemetery on the southeastern side of said graveyard at Middlefort. The American Fur Company gave a log building of theirs to Father Baraga, and partly out of it and partly out of new materials the first chapel at Middlefort was constructed. On the 7th of September, 1838, Rt. Rev. Frederic Rese, first Bishop of Detroit came to La Pointe, and on the 9th of the same month he confirmed 112 Indians and Canadians.

In the year 1841, Father Baraga built the present church of La Pointe, having torn down the old one at Middlefort, which had not been well built. The church was finished in July of that year and blessed by Father Baraga on the first Sunday of August, 1841, under the patronage of St. Joseph. On the 4th of October, 1843, he left La Pointe to start a new mission—rather revive the old mission of Father Menard, in St. Theresa (now Keweenaw) Bay, of 1660—this was done with the approbation of Rt. Rev. Peter Paul Lefevre, second Bishop of Detroit, who sent Father Skolla to La Pointe and gave L'Anse, Michigan to Father Baraga. On the 27th of July, 1844, Father Baraga came to La Pointe, and stayed there a few weeks to attend to the spiritual wants of his former parishioners and prepare many of his Indians for confirmation. On the 14th of August 1844, Rt. Rev. John Martin Henni, first Bishop, afterwards Archbishop of Milwaukee, visited this most northern mission of his diocese, and on the 16th of said month confirmed 122 Indians and Canadians. On the 3d of September, Father Baraga returned to L'Anse. Subsequently he made several visits to La Pointe, both before and after his elevation to the episcopal dignity.

In L'Anse he labored with his customary zeal and success. An humble church was built, heathenish superstition, drunkeness and other vices extirpated, and many Indians, even from Lac Vieux Desert and Lac du Flambeau, converted. It was there he published his Otchipwe Dictionary and Grammar, which works place him in the foremost rank of Indian scholars. In 1853 he was consecrated Bishop of Sault Ste. Marie, where for several years he had to perform all the duties of a simple parish priest, laboring especially among the neighboring Indians. He afterwards transferred his See to Marquette. The writer has his first Pastoral letter, a curiosity of its kind, a regular Indian document, announcing to his dear Indians his elevation to the Episcopal dignity. Even as Bishop he used to perform all the duties of a simple missionary-priest, hearing confessions, instructing children, visiting the sick, etc. He died at Marquette, January 19, 1868. His funeral was attended by all Marquette—Indians and whites, Protestants and Catholics vying with one another to honor the pious, humble and saintly missionary and Bishop, who had passed out of this world to receive in heaven the reward of his many labors and hardships.

On the 4th of October, 1845, feast of St. Francis of Assisium, Rev. Otto C. Skolla, O. S. F. Str. Obs., arrived in La Pointe, where he labored as a true son of St. Francis in poverty and fasting, leading an almost eremitical life in silence, prayer, and seclusion from the world for almost eight years, having baptized in that length of time 401 Indians, half-breeds and whites. His last baptismal entry was October 7, 1853, on which day, or shortly after, he went to labor among the Menominee Indians. In 1854, La Pointe was attended for about two months by Rev. Angelus Van Paemel. Then came Rev. Timothy Carié, whose baptismal entries extend from September 10, 1854 to December 25, 1855, when he was succeeded by Rev. A. Benoit and A. Van Paemel, Father Benoit's last baptism was on the 25th of July, 1858. about which time he left and Father Van Paemel took exclusive charge of the mission. He was a Belgian by birth, a very zealous, mortified and pious man. He attended this mission, which then and long after included Superior, for nearly four years.

He was succeeded by Rev. John Cebul, who came here in June, 1860, and remained in this mission for twelve years. He was remarkable for his great linguistic talent, having learned in a comparitively short time three languages, which he spoke fluently; English, French and Otchipwe. He was universally beloved by all classes. After him Father Keller visited the mission from Duluth, in November, 1872, and baptized several children. The next resident priest was Rev. Dr. Quigly, author of "The Cross and the Shamrock," "The Prophet of the Ruined Abbey," and other works of fiction. He was never intended by nature, nationality or training for an Indian missioner, so his stay was short—about nine months. Father F. X. Pfaller was his successor. He did much for this mission, procured a beautiful altar for the church in Bayfield, besides vestments and other valuable articles of church furniture. He remained here in Bayfield for two years, and left in August, 1875. During 1876-77 Fathers J. B. Genin and Joseph Buh visited the mission, attending to the spiritual wants of Indians and whites. In 1878, Father A. T. Schuttelhofer visited this mission in January and March. On the 19th of June, of the same year, the writer arrived and had charge of the La Pointe and Bayfield mission for about five months, when he was removed to Superior.

The mission was now given in charge to the Franciscan Order. On the 13th of October, 1878, Fathers Casimir Vogt and John Gafron, O. S. F., arrived with two lay Brothers. They and other Fathers of the same Order have since then worked with great zeal and success at the conversion of pagan Indians, of whom they have baptized a great number. They have, moreover, established Catholic schools for the religious and secular training of Indian and white children. They have schools with Sisters at Bayfield, La Pointe, Buffalo Bay, Ashland, and Bad River Reservation. They have also an industrial school for Indian girls at Bayfield. The erection and maintenance of these schools have cost large sums of money, contributed partly by generous benefactors in different parts of the country, and partly by collections made by the indefatigable, pious and zealous Father Casimir in the pinery among the "boys." The Fathers in Bayfield have charge of the following missions: 1. Bayfield; 2, Buffalo Bay; 3, La Pointe; 4, Washburn; 5, Ashland; 6. Drummond; 7, Mason; 8, Silver Creek; 9, Glidden; 10, Butternut, 11, Fifield; 12, Phillipps; 13, Odanah, Indian Reservation, 14, Hurley.

The same Order has also a residence occupied by three Fathers and two Brothers at Superior, Wis. The Fathers have a large tract of country under their care. There is, likewise, a Franciscan Residence at Keshina, Shawano Co., Wis., among the Menominees, occupied by three Fathers and five lay Brothers. They have there a large boarding and industrial school, supported by the Government. The same Order has a large house at Harbor Springs, the Arbre Croche of Father Baraga, where he labored so successfully for the conversion of the Ottawas in 1831–32–33.

It will thus be seen that the sons of St. Francis now have charge of all the Indian Missions of Wisconsin, besides several in Michigan.

On the 23d of August, 1885, the 220th year of the first foundation of this Mission by Father Allouez, and the 50th anniversary of its reëstablishment by Father—afterwards Bishop—Baraga, was celebrated with great solemnity. Rt. Rev. Kilian C. Flasch, Bishop of La Crosse, celebrated pontifical high mass, assisted by the Rev. Fathers Collins and Boehm of Eau Claire, and Fathers Paulinus Tolksdorf and Chrysostom Verwyst, O. S. F. Rev. Charles F. H. Goldsmith, S. T. D., of Chippewa Falls, preached an eloquent sermon,

reviewing the ancient and modern history of La Pointe Mission. He was followed by Father John Gafron, O. S. F., who preached a good sermon on the same subject in Chippewa. There were present: Rev. Zeininger, Rector of the Seminary of St. Francis, near Milwaukee, Rev. Abbelen, Chaplain of Notre Dame Institute in Milwaukee, and Rev. Van de Zande, Chancellor of the Archdiocese of St. Louis.

The weather was beautiful, and the Church of La Pointe filled with Indians, from far and near, who had come to honor their beloved Father, to whom many of them owed their conversion. An immense number of whites were also present from Bayfield, Ashland and Washburn. The Church could not hold one half of the people. It was tastefully decorated by the Indians both within and without. May the good God grant His blessing to this Mission, the oldest, except that of Father Menard in Keweenaw Bay, in the whole Northwest, and, whilst the Christian tourist visits the spots, hallowed by the presence of a saintly Allouez, Marquette and Baraga, may he contribute a mite to the preservation of the Indian Missions founded by them.

THE END.

Biographical and Historical Notes.

Rise and fall of the Huron Mission; Martyrdom of Father Anthony Daniel, S. J.

In 1615 the first three Franciscan Fathers of the Recollect reform came to Canada; Father Dennis Jamay labored at Quebec, John d'Olbeau at Tadoussac, and Joseph Le Caron went to Carragouha among the Hurons. In 1622 Father William Poulain visited the Huron mission, which Father Le Caron had been obliged to leave, in order to attend the Indian tribes in the vicinity of Quebec. In the following year Father Nicholas Viel arrived, and with him Father Le Caron returned to Carragouha, where they lived in Franciscan poverty, and baptized two adults.

Finding themselves too few in numbers for the great missionary field before them, the Recollects invited the Jesuits to come and labor with them among the Indians of New France. In 1625 the first Jesuit Fathers, Father Charles Lalemant, Edmund Masse, and John de Brebeuf, with some Recollects, arrived at Quebec. Father Viel prepared to descend to Three Rivers to make a retreat, consult his superiors, and obtain some necessary articles. Father de Brebeuf and the Recollect Joseph de la Roche Dallion were to meet him at the trading post, on the descent of the annual fur flotilla from the Huron country, and under his guidance labor among the Hurons, but they never met. Shooting the last rapid in Ottawa river, behind Montreal, the Indian who conducted Father Viel, from some unexplained hatred, hurled him and a little Christian boy into the foaming torrent, and they sunk to rise no more. To this day the place bears the name of the Recollect's Rapid.[1]

1 "Sault au Recollet."

In 1626 Fathers de Brebeuf, Dallion and de Nouë, after a painful voyage, reached Carragouha. Father de Brebeuf labored there till 1629, when his superior, Father Masse, called him to Quebec. He had endeared himself to the poor Indians, and when he was on the point of departing, they crowded around him: "What! Echon"—that was his Indian name—"dost thou leave us? Thou hast now been here three years to learn our language to teach us to know thy God, to adore and serve him, having come but for that end, as thou hast shown; and now, when thou knowest our language more perfectly than any other Frenchman, thou leavest us. If we do not know the God thou adorest, we shall take him to witness, that it is not our fault, but thine to leave us so."

Three days after de Brebeuf's arrival at Quebec, that town was captured by the English, led by the French traitor, Kirk. All the Fathers, both Franciscan and Jesuit, were carried off by Kirk to England. In 1632 Canada was restored to France, and in 1633 the Jesuits returned to Canada. In the following year Fathers de Brebeuf, Daniel and Davost began their apostolic labors at the new village, Ihonatiria. There they built in September a log house, 36 ft. x 21 ft., which, being divided off, gave them a house and chapel. The medicine-men did all in their power to raise a persecution against the Fathers, but could not succeed. In the summer they were joined by Fathers Francis Le Mercier and Peter Pijart, and they extended their labors to the neighboring villages. In 1636 Fathers Garnier, Chatelain and Isaac Jogues arrived. A pestilential sickness ravaged the country of the Hurons, and the Fathers, being accused as the authors thereof, were maltreated and in great danger of being killed by the superstitious savages. Still they labored on, baptizing 250 dying children and adults. In 1637 the pestilence returned with renewed violence, and the missionaries were in constant danger of death, as by the Indian custom anyone may strike down a wizard. The mode of life pursued by the missionaries confirmed the superstitious suspicions of the savages; the mass, their prayers at night, their clock, cross, a flag above their cabin, all were in turn suspected. In October their cabin was set on fire, and de Brebeuf wrote to his superior at Quebec: "We are probably at the point of shedding our blood in the service of our blessed master,

Jesus Christ. His goodness apparently vouchsafes this sacrifice in expiation of my great and countless sins, and to crown the past services and the great and burning desires of all our Fathers here." Council after council was held by the Indians; finally the Fathers were condemned to die, and on the day named for their execution, they gave, in accordance with Huron custom, their dying banquet. Their undaunted demeanor had its effect. Once more de Brebeuf was summoned to the council, and succeeded in convincing the sachems of their innocence. As he left the council-hall, he saw a medicine-man, his greatest persecutor, tomahawked at his side. Believing that in the dusk the avenger had mistaken his victim, he asked: "Was that for me?" "No," was the reply, "he was a wizard, thou art not."

The missionaries soon regained their popularity, and in 1638 they baptized two families, besides many individuals. Their ranks were now reinforced by the arrival of Fathers Jerome Lalemant, Le Moyne, and Du Perron. In the spring of 1639 they had nearly 50, who had made their first communion. But new trials were at hand. The small-pox, the greatest scourge of the Indian, broke out among them. The terror-stricken Indians ascribed the scourge to the Fathers. The crosses on their dwellings were thrown down, tomahawks often glittered over their heads, their crucifixes were torn from them, and one of them cruelly beaten. Yet the missionaries labored on calmly amidst all these trials, and succeeded in converting and baptizing many of the sick and dying. In 1640 Fathers Charles Raymbaut and Claude Pijart arrived. The faith began now to spread, and 1,000 had been baptized, almost all in danger of death, one-fourth being infants. The Christians and Catechumens became so numerous, that in many villages they formed a considerable party, and by refusing to participate in the heathenish rites and ceremonies of their countrymen, they drew upon themselves petty persecution and bitter hatred.

The Iroquois, old enemies of the Hurons, began more and more to ravage their country, spreading everywhere dismay, ruin, and death. But this was the time of salvation for the sorely-tried Huron nation. As famine, disaster and destruction closed around them, they gathered beneath the cross, their only hope. In no town was the chapel large enough to hold the congregation.

"On the 14th of July, 1648, early in the morning, when the braves were absent on war or hunting parties, and none but old men, women, and children tenanted the once strong town of Teananstayae, it was suddenly attacked by a large Iroquois force. Father Anthony Daniel, beloved of all, fresh from his retreat at St. Mary's and full of desire for the glory of heaven, was just preaching to his flock about that place of bliss, urging them to prepare for it in joy, when suddenly a cry arose, "To arms! to arms!" which, echoing through the crowded chapel, filled all with terror. Mass had just ended, and Father Daniel hastens to the palisade, where the few defenders had rallied. There he rouses their drooping courage, for a formidable Iroquois force was upon them. Heaven opens to the faithful Christian who dies fighting for his home, but to the unbeliever vain his struggle, temporal pain will be succeeded by endless torment. Few and quick his words. Confessing here, baptizing there, he hurries along the line; then speeds him to the cabins. Crowds gather round to implore baptism they had so long refused. Unable to give time to each, he baptizes by aspersion, and again hurries into cabin after cabin to shrive the sick and aged. At last he is at the chapel again. 'Tis full to the door. All had gathered round the altar for protection and defense, losing the precious moments. "Fly, brethren, fly," exclaimed the devoted missionary. "Be steadfast till your latest breath in the faith. Here will I die; here must I stay while I see one soul to gain for heaven; and, dying to serve you, my life is nothing." Pronouncing a general absolution, he urged their flight from the rear of the chapel, and advancing to the main door, issued forth, and closed it behind him. The Iroquois were already at hand, but at the sight of that man thus fearlessly advancing, they recoiled, as though some deity had burst upon them. But the next moment a shower of arrows riddled his body. Gashed, and rent, and torn, his apostolic spirit never left him. Undismayed he stands till pierced by a musket ball, he uttered aloud the name of Jesus and fell dead, as he had often wished, by that shrine he had reared in the wilderness. His church, soon in flames, became his pyre, and flung in there, his body was entirely consumed.

Thus, in the midst of his labors perished Anthony Daniel, priest of the Society of Jesus, unwearied in labor, unbroken in toil, patient beyond belief, gentle amid every opposition,

charitable with the charity of Christ, supporting and embracing all. Around him fell hundreds of his Christians; and thus sank in blood the mission of St. Joseph, at the town of Teananstayae. The news of this disaster spread terror through the land.[1]"

Village after village was abandoned. In vain did the missionaries try to arouse the Hurons to a systematic defense of their country. Their courage was broken; they only thought of flight. New disasters awaited them. On the 16th of March, 1649, at daybreak an army of a thousand Iroquois burst on the town of St. Ignatius and all were massacred except three, who, half naked, succeeded in reaching the neighboring town of St. Louis. Sending away the women and children, the braves prepared to defend the place. On came the Iroquois, but a well directed fire of the Hurons drove them back. Yet in spite of their losses the Iroquois pressed up to the palisade, and soon effecting an entrance drove back the few Hurons and fired the town. The place being destroyed the Iroquois collected their captives and began to torture them by tearing out their nails. They led them to St. Ignatius, where the other captives had been left. There they most inhumanly butchered Fathers de Brebeuf and Lalement, as shall be described below. This was the death-blow of the Huron mission; fifteen towns were abandoned and the people fled in every direction. On the 7th of December of the same year, 1649, the village Etharita, among the Tionnontate Hurons, called also the Tobacco Nation from their cultivating large fields of tobacco, was attacked and destroyed by the Iroquois; men, women and children murdered. Among the dead was Father Charles Garnier, whose death will be described below, who, true to his sublime calling, remained at his post doing his duty like a brave soldier of the Cross, until a blow from an Indian tomahawk put an end to his life. Since the first visit of the Recollect Father Le Caron in 1615 till 1649, a period of thirty-four years, twenty-nine missionaries had labored among the Hurons. Seven of them had perished by the hand of violence, eleven still remained; these, like their neophytes, scattered, seeking to labor elsewhere for the salvation of souls.[2]

1 Shea, "Catholic Missions," pp. 185–187.

2 Father Grelon, one of the survivors of the Huron mission, went to China. Years after, when traveling through the plains of Tartary, he met a

Heroic Sufferings and Death of Fathers De Brebeuf and Lalemant, S. J.

On the 16th of March, 1649, a large Iroquis force, numbering 1000 warriors, attacked the village of St. Ignatius, at break of day, while the inhabitants were buried in sleep. They carried the place by assault, put men, women and children to death and set fire to the cabins. Out of four hundred inhabitants, but three escaped to carry the alarm to the village of St. Louis, but a league distant. Before sunrise they attacked the last-named village, soon overpowering the eighty Hurons, who defended the place, and killed thirty of them. They set fire to the town and cast into the flames the old, the infirm, the wounded, and such small children as had been unable to escape.

In the village of St. Louis, there resided at the time of the assault, two Jesuit Fathers, John de Brebeuf and Gabriel Lalemant. The Relation of 1649, p. 37 says: "Some of the Christians had entreated the Fathers to preserve their lives for the glory of God, which could have been very easily effected, since at the first alarm more than five hundred had escaped with ease to a place of security; but their zeal would not allow them to do this, and the salvation of their flock was dearer to them than the love of life. They employed every moment of their time as the most precious of their whole lives; and during the hottest of the combat, their heart was all on fire for the salvation of souls. One of them was at the breach baptizing the Catechumens, the other was giving absolution to the Neophytes, and both were busy in animating the Christians to die in sentiments of piety, which consoled them in the midst of their misfortunes.

An unconverted Huron seeing things desperate, spoke of flight, but a Christian, named Stephen Annaotaha, the most distinguished of the whole village for his courage and for his exploits against the enemy, would not hear of it. "What!" he exclaimed, "shall we abandon these good Fathers, who for

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Huron woman whom he had known on the shores of her native lake (Lake Huron). Having been sold from tribe to tribe, she had reached the interior of Asia. There, on the steppes of Central Asia, she knelt and in that tongue, which neither had heard for years, the poor Huron woman confessed once more to her aged pastor. It was this fact that first led to the knowledge of the near approach of America to Asia. (Shea, "Cath. Missions," who cites Charlevoix, Ch. v, p. 45.)

our sakes have exposed their own lives? The love they have for our salvation will be the cause of their death; there is no longer time for them to fly across the snows. Let us then die with them and in their company we will go to heaven." This chief had made a general confession but a few days before, having had a presentiment of the threatened danger, and having said that he wished death to find him ripe for heaven. And in effect he and many other Christians displayed so much fervor, that we can never sufficiently bless the ways of God towards his elect, over whom his providence watches with love at every moment, in life and in death. This whole multitude of Christians fell, for the most part, alive into the hands of the enemy and with them our two Fathers, the pastors of that church. They were not killed immediately; God reserved for them more glorious crowns.

From the narrative of some fugitive Huron captives, who had been eye-witnesses of all the circumstances attending their death, the following details are gathered: "Immediately after their capture, the Fathers were both stripped of their clothing, their finger-nails were torn out by the roots, and they were borne in savage triumph to the village of St. Ignatius, which had been taken on the same morning. On entering its gates they both received a shower of blows on their shoulders, loins and stomach—no part of their exposed bodies escaping contumely. Father de Brebeuf, though almost sinking under these cruel blows, and fainting from agony and loss of blood, still lost not courage, but his eye kindling with fire, he addressed the Christian Hurons, who were his fellow-captives, in the following language:

"My children! Let us lift up our eyes to heaven in the midst of our sufferings; let us remember that God is a witness of our torments, and He will soon be our reward exceedingly great. Let us die in the faith, and trust in his goodness for the fulfillment of his promises. I feel more for you than for myself; but bear with courage the few torments which yet remain; they will all terminate with our lives; the glory which will follow them will have no end!" "Echon," such was his Huron name, "Echon," they replied, "our hope shall be in heaven, while our bodies are suffering on earth. Pray to God for us, that He may grant us mercy; we will invoke Him even until death."

Some pagan Hurons, who had proved obstinate under the preaching of the missionaries, and who, having been long before taken captive by the Iroquois, had become naturalized among them, were filled with fiendish hatred at the noble freedom with which the captive Father spoke. They rushed upon him and Father Lalemant and bound them each to a stake. The hands of de Brebeuf were cut off, while Lalemant's flesh quivered with the awls and pointed irons thrust into every part of his body. This did not suffice; a fire kindled near soon reddened their hatchets, and these they forced under the armpits and between the thighs of the sufferers, while to de Brebeuf they gave a collar of those burning weapons, and there the missionaries stood with those glowing irons seething and consuming to their very vitals.

"In the midst of his torments, Father Gabriel Lalemant raised his eyes to heaven, joining his hands from time to time, and sending forth sighs to God, whom he invoked to his succor. Father John de Brebeuf, with the apparent insensibility of a rock, heedless alike of fire and flame, continued in profound silence, without once venting a sigh or murmur, which astonished even his executions: without doubt his heart was then sweetly reposing in the boson of God. After a brief time, as if returning to himself, he preached to those infidels, and more especially to a good number of Christian captives, who showed compassion for his sufferings. His cruel executioners, indignant at his zeal, in order to prevent his speaking any more of God, struck him on the mouth, cut off his nose and tore away his lips, but his blood spoke more eloquently than his lips, and his heart not yet having been torn out, his tongue did not fail to aid him in recounting the mercies of God in the midst of his torments and in animating more than ever his Christian fellow-captives. In derision of baptism, which these good Fathers had so charitably administered at the breach and in the hottest of the contest, those barbarous enemies of the faith bethought themselves of baptizing them with boiling water. More than twice or thrice their whole body was inundated with the scalding element, the infidels accompanying the ablution with heartless jeers: 'We baptize you that you may be happy in heaven, for without baptism no one can be saved.' Others said, mocking: 'We treat you as friends, for we will be the cause of your greater happiness;

thank us for our good offices, for the more you suffer, the more God will reward you.'"

"The more their torments were redoubled, the more did the Fathers pray, that their sins might not be the cause of the reprobation of these blinded infidels, whom they forgave with all their hearts.....When they were attached to the stakes where they endured all these tortures and where they were to die, they fell on their knees, embraced the wood with joy and kissed it fervently as the cherished object of their sighs and prayers and as a certain and last pledge of their eternal salvation. They continued in prayer much longer than pleased their barbarous tormentors. They plucked out the eyes of Father Gabriel Lalemant, and applied red-hot coals to the orifices from which they had been torn. Their sufferings did not take place at the same time. Father John de Brebeuf suffered for about three hours and expired at four o'clock in the evening of the 16th of March, the same day on which the village of St. Ignatius had been captured. Father Gabriel Lalemant suffered longer; from six o'clock of that evening until about nine o'clock of the following day, the 17th of March. Before their death the hearts of both were torn out, an incision having been made for this purpose under the breast, and those barbarians drank their blood while it was still warm.....While they were yet living, pieces of flesh were cut from their thighs, arms and legs, which were roasted and eaten before their eyes! Their bodies had been gashed all over, and to increase their torments, red-hot tomahawks were run along the deep incisions. Father John de Brebeuf had been already scalped, his feet had been cut off, and his thighs denuded to the very bone, and one of his cheeks had been divided by a stroke of the tomahawk. Father Gabriel Lalemant had also received a stroke of the murderous weapon on his left ear, and the instrument had sunk deep into his skull, laying bare the brain; we could find no part of his body, from head to foot, which had not been roasted, even while he was living. Their very tongues were roasted, burning fire-brands and bunches of bark having been repeatedly thrust into their mouths to prevent them from invoking while dying, the name and succor of Him, for whose love they were enduring all these torments."

On the morning of the 19th of March the Iroquois suddenly fled, being for some unaccountable reason seized with a sudden

panic. Such prisoners as they could not or would not take along, they doomed to a horrible death.

"As for the prisoners, whom they had doomed to immediate death, they bound them to pine stakes driven into the earth in the different cabins, to which, in leaving the village, they set fire on all sides, taking delight on their departure at the piteous cries of those poor victims, perishing in the midst of flames, of infants roasted by the side of their mothers, and of husbands, who saw their wives roasted near them."

On the morning of the flight of the Iroquois, the Jesuit Fathers of the village of St. Mary's having through some Huron captives who had escaped, received intelligence of the death of Fathers de Brebeuf and Lalemant, sent one of their number with seven Frenchmen as an escort, to find and bring back their mortal remains. The messengers on reaching the spot, where the martyrdom of these illustrious missionaries had been consummated, witnessed a scene which froze their very souls with horror. Everything betokened the fiendish barbarity of the merciless Iroquois. Having reverently gathered up the mangled remains of the two Fathers, they brought them back to the Mission of St. Mary's, where they were solemnly interred on the 21st of March, which fell on a Sunday. At the funeral all were "filled with so much consolation and with sentiments of a devotion so tender, that every one ardently desired, rather than feared, a similar death; and all would have deemed themselves thrice happy, to have obtained from God the grace of shedding their blood and laying down their lives under similar circumstances. No one could bring himself to pray to God for their repose, as if they stood in need of prayer; but all raised their hearts to Heaven, where they had no doubt the souls of the departed already were."[1]

Glorious Martyrdom of Father Jogues, S. J.

Father Isaac Jogues, the first missionary to plant the cross on Michigan soil in 1642, was born in Orleans, France, of a highly respectable family on the 10th of January, 1607. In October, 1624, he entered the Society of Jesus at Rouen.

1 "Relations," pp. 37-53. We cite the Relations of 1649, as quoted in Spalding's "Miscellanea," pp. 323-24.

After his ordination in 1636 he was sent to Canada and labored for some years in the Huron country. In 1642 he and Father Raymbault visited Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., where they were well received by the two thousand Indians assembled there to celebrate the feast of the dead. Father Jogues then went to Quebec and on his way back to the Huron country, the party, with whom he was traveling, fell into a Mohawk ambuscade. The Father might have escaped, but seeing some captives in charge of a few Mohawks, joining them he surrendered himself in order to assist the wounded and dying. Besides Father Jogues there were two Frenchmen captured, Couture and René Goupil, and some twenty Hurons. Couture had slain in the engagement a chief and was, therefore, to be tortured. He was stripped, beaten, and mangled. Father Jogues, who consoled him, was beaten till he fell senseless, his nails torn out, and the fingers gnawed to the very bone.

The Mohawks then started for their village, inflicting all manner of cruelty upon their defenseless captives. Sailing through Lake Champlain, they descried another party of their countrymen on an island, and the captives were made to run the gauntlet. The missionary sank under the clubs and iron rods. "God alone," he said, "for whose love and glory it is sweet and glorious to suffer, can tell what cruelties they perpetrated on me then." He was dragged to the scaffold, bruised and burnt; most of his remaining nails were torn out and his hands so dislocated, that they never recovered their natural shape. On the 14th of August they reached the first Mohawk village, where again they were made to run the gauntlet, "this narrow path to paradise," amid blows of clubs and iron rods, until they reached the scaffold, where new tortures awaited them. The missionary's left thumb was hacked off by an Algonquin slave; none of the party escaped torture. At night they were tied to the ground, with legs and arms extended, writhing in pain, vainly trying to escape the hot coals thrown on them by the children. In two other villages the captives were treated in the same cruel manner. In a third village he succeeded in baptizing two Huron catechumens with a few drops of dew found on a corn-stalk thrown to him by an Indian. They were all condemned to death, but on further consideration the Mohawks reversed

their first decision, sparing the French prisoners and condemning of the Hurons only three to death.

The charitable Hollanders at Fort Orange raised a sum of money to redeem Father Jogues and his faithful attendant René Goupil, but their efforts were vain. Soon after a war party came in that had been repulsed in an attack on the French. They determined to vent their rage upon their French captives. René Goupil had been seen to make the sign of the cross on the forehead of a child and, as the Hollanders had told the Mohawks that the sign was not good, the master of the cabin ordered René Goupil to be put to death. Two young braves set out and meeting Jogues and René ordered them to return to the village. Conscious that death was nigh, they began to say their beads, and arriving at the palisade one of the Mohawks buried his tomahawk deep in the head of René Goupil. Pronouncing the holy name of Jesus, he fell to the ground. Father Jogues thinking that his hour too had come, knelt at his side to share his fate. They dragged him off from his companion's body, whom the two Indians killed with repeated blows of their hatchets.

Father Jogues thus entirely alone among his savage captors, devoted his leisure moments to the Huron captives. When unfortunate prisoners were brought in to die, he went to meet them, instructed, baptized, or confessed them, sometimes amid the very flames, whilst they were being burnt at the stake, for he always assisted them in death. His Mohawk captors took him to their hunting grounds and made him do the work of their slaves and squaws. When his work was done, he would roam about in the woods chanting psalms from memory or praying before the sign of the cross carved on some tree.

Several times he was taken to the Hollandish settlement of Rensselaerswyk, now Albany, where in August, 1643, he wrote to his provincial, giving an account of his captivity and sufferings. There he finally succeeded to escape by the aid of the Hollandish settlers, especially Van Curler; they even periled their own lives in trying to deliver him from his masters, who, having been defeated before Fort Richelieu, had determined to put him to death. The settlers succeeded in appeasing the wrath of his enemies by presents and he was conveyed to New Amsterdam, now New York, where he

was most kindly treated by Governor Kieft and Dominie Megapolensis, and in November, 1643, sailed for Europe. He was driven on the coast of England and robbed of everything. Reaching France in a wretched plight, he was soon an object of general admiration. Pope Innocent XI. gave him permission to say Mass with his mutilated hands, saying: "It were unjust that a martyr of Christ should not drink the blood of Christ."

He soon returned to Canada. In 1645, peace having been concluded between the Mohawk and the French, a new mission was projected among them. "We have called it," says the Superior, "the Mission of the Martyrs, and with reason, since we establish it among the very men who have made the gospel-laborers suffer so much, and among whom great pains and hardships must still be expected. Good René Goupil has already met death in their midst, and if it be lawful to make conjectures in things, which seem so probable, it is to be believed that our projects against the empire of Satan will not bear fruit till watered with the blood of some other martyrs."

On the 16th of May, 1646, Father Jogues, with the Sieur Bourdon, set out for the Mohawk country. At Fort Orange he stopped to thank his kind deliverers, and then proceeded to the first Mohawk town, called Onewyiure. There he and his companion were well received and peace concluded. They then returned to Quebec, and after a few days of rest, Father Jogues started to return to his mission. Although rumors of war were afloat, the devoted missionary pushed on. He had, however, a presentiment of his end. "Ibo et non redibo," are the prophetic words of his last letter: "I shall go, but I shall not return." His Huron companions gradually forsook him, but he kept on with his faithful companion, John Lalande. "I shall be too happy," he said, "if our Lord deign to complete the sacrifice where he has begun it, and make thie few drops of my blood an earnest of what I would give Hm frrom every vein of my body and heart."

Meeting with a party of Mohawks painted for war, the Father and his companion were stripped and bound. On the 17th of October, 1646, Father Jogues again entered Gandawagué, the place of his former captivity. Entering the village, he was received with blows of clubs and fists. He was not treated as a common prisoner of war. He was to

die as a sorcerer, for in their superstition they attributed to his chest, with its vestments and chapel service, a pestilential fever that ravaged their cabins, and the swarm of caterpillars that devoured their crops. "You shall die tomorrow!" said they, "Fear not! You shall not be burned; you shall both die under our hatchets, and your heads shall be fixed on the palisade, that your brethren may see them, when we bring them in captive." In vain did Father Jogues endeavor to show them the injustice of treating him as an enemy. Deaf to all reason, they began the butchery by slicing off the flesh from his arms and back, crying: "Let us see whether this white flesh is that of an Otkon" (sorcerer). "I am but a man like yourselves," replied the fearless confessor of Christ, "though I fear not death nor your tortures. I know not why you put me to death. I have come to your country to preserve peace and strengthen the land and to show you the way to heaven, and you treat me like a dog. Dread the vengeance of the Master of life."

A council of the Oyanders was called: the Bear family clamored for his blood; but the Wolf and Tortoise opposed them firmly, and it was resolved to spare his life. It was too late. While the council was sitting on the night of the 18th October, some of the Bear-clan came to invite him to sup with them; he rose to follow, but scarcely had his shadow darkened the door of his perfidious host, when an Indian, concealed within, sprang forward, and with a single blow stretched him lifeless on the ground. The generous arm of Kiotsaeton was raised to save him, but, though deeply wounded, did not arrest the blow. Father Jogues fell dead; his missionary toil was ended. His companion shared his fate, and the rising sun beheld their heads fixed on the north palisade, while their bodies were flung into the neighboring stream. After his death miracles were attributed to him and duly attested; and the missionaries who, at a later date, saw a fervent church arise at the place of his glorious death, and those who saw it produce that holy virgin, Catharine Tegahkwita, ascribed these wonders of grace only to his blood.

Steps have been taken looking towards the beatification and canonization of Father Jogues and the Iroquois virgin, Catherine Tegahkwita.[1]

1 Shea, "Catholic Missions," pp. 206-208.

Heroic death of Father Garnier, S. J.

Father Charles Garnier was born in Paris, in 1605, of an eminent and pious family. He entered the Society of Jesus on the 5th of September, 1624. Sent to Canada in 1636, he was constantly on the Huron missions, from the 11th of September of that year till his death on the 7th of December, 1649. He seemed to have been born and to live only for the conversion of his Indians; of nothing else did he think or converse. Esteemed by his companions as a saint, his letters, still extant, bear testimony to his eminent love of God and zeal for the salvation of souls, as well as his entire disengagement from earthly things. As a Huron scholar he was next to de Brebeuf, the best in the whole body of missionaries.

"On the 7th of December, 1649, a large Iroquois force burst upon the Huron town of Etharita, or St. John, where Father Garnier was stationed. On that day the braves of that town, tired of waiting for the enemy, had set out to meet them, but unfortunately had taken a wrong direction. The Iroquois, fearful of being surprised by the returning Hurons, cut down all without mercy, and fired the place. Father Garnier was everywhere exhorting, consoling, shriving, baptizing; wherever a wounded Indian lay, he rushed to gather his dying words; wherever a sick person or child met his eye, he hastened to confer baptism. While thus, regardless of danger, he listened only to the call of duty, he fell mortally wounded by two musket balls; and the Iroquois, stripping him of his habit, hurried on. Stunned by the pain, he lay a moment there, then clasping his hands in prayer, prepared to die; but as he writhed in the agony of death, he beheld a wounded Tionontate Huron some paces from him. The sight revived him; forgetful of his own state, he remembered only that he was a priest, and rallying all his strength by two efforts, rises to his feet and endeavors to walk, but after a few stagering steps falls heavily to the ground. Still mindful only of duty, he dragged himself to the wounded man, and, while giving him the last absolution, fell over him a corpse; another Iroquois had driven a tomahawk into his skull.

"Father Garreau and Grelon hastened from the other town and buried, amid the ruins of his church, the body of

the holy missionary, the beloved Oracha of the natives, who won by his mild and gentle manners, entire devotion to them and their good, his forgetfulness of all that was not connected with their salvation, no less than his perfect knowledge of their language and manners had long considered him less a Frenchman than an Indian, or a being of another world sent to assume the form."[1]

The Three Missionary Martyrs of Wisconsin.

The three martyred missionaries referred to, are Father Menard, who perished at the headwaters of Black River, Wisconsin, probably by the hand of some roving Indian, and two Jesuit Fathers said to have been put to death at the place where Depere now stands. Some claim that the word Depere is a corruption of "Deux Peres, Two Fathers," that name having been given to the town as being the spot where they were put to death.

John Gilmary Shea, a Catholic historian, second to none in the United States, in his justly celebrated work, "History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States"—a work which we have freely used in the preparation of this little volume—p. 377, speaking of the year 1765, says: "In this year two Jesuit missionaries are said to have been put to death on an eminence by a rapid on the Fox River, thence called "Le Rapide des Peres," a name preserved in the town of Depere. This may be true, but no trace of the fact is to be found in any work of the time. See Ann. Prop. II, 121."

In the annals of the Leopoldine Stiftung, annal VII, p. 34, Father Haetscher, C. S. S. R., writes from Green Bay, under date of September 2, 1833. "Speaking of the Fox River, I must remark that I have seen in a certain place there the remains of a Jesuit monastery that formerly stood there, which has given to the rapids of the river there the name "Rapide des Peres," where I found in the ruins a small silver cross. These good Fathers were martyred there by the savages. They were attacked by the relatives of the Indians, converted by them, bound to stakes and boiling water poured over their heads,

1 Shea, "Catholic Missions," p. 193.

in order, as the savages mockingly said, to baptize them too." No date given.

Father Van den Broek, who succeeded Fathers Saenderl and Haetscher, C. S. S. R., as pastor of the Catholic congregation of Green Bay, in 1834, speaking of a robbery committed by some drunken soldiers of Fort Howard, in his church, on the night of Holy Saturday, 1838, says: "In the meanwhile the thieves were busy robbing everything in the church, as for instance, a *silver monstrance, a ciborium, and water-cruets*, etc."..... In a foot-note he says: "These were precious objects, which had been found at Rapides des Peres in the ground *and which had been concealed there when the missionary was killed by the Indians.* One hundred and fifty years ago (this was written in 1847[1]) there was a Jesuit mission and chapel there. But after this occurrence no priest has been seen there." Elsewhere he refers to the same fact, saying that in the "Godsdienstoriend," 1843, p. 260, the origin of the name, *Rapides des Peres*, is explained.

In the monthly magazine, "Alte und Neue Welt," No. 5, 1868, p. 134, Rev. J. V. Badin, who came to visit the Green Bay mission, May the 12th, 1825, says: "Although the inhabitants of Green Bay form a sample of all colors, and although they are for the most part awfully ugly-looking and rude in their manners, still morals are much purer here than elsewhere. It would only require two Jesuits to take the place of the two Fathers who were murdered here about sixty years ago (i. e. 1765) or rather who were martyred by the hands of cruel savages. I passed a rapid in the Fox River, still called " Rapide des Peres," opposite to which is the bluff (or hill) where both these martyrs have shed their blood for Jesus Christ."

By the kindness of Father Kersten, a manuscript of Father Hypp Hoffen, deceased, was sent to me, in which he writes: " In 1765 two Jesuit missionaries, whose names tradition has not preserved, were killed on the banks of the Fox River near the place, where, in 1676, the church and residence of their predecessors had been erected. Although no work of that time mentions this fact, *the old inhabitants believe it to be certain* and show the ground that was soaked with the blood of these martyrs. Margaret Okeewah, a one hundred year old Indian

1 "Reize naar Noord-Amerika" etc., door den Wel-Eerwaarden Heer T. J. Van den Broek te Amsterdam, by Langenhuysen, 1847.

woman, who died February 13, 1868, ascertained the fact, saying that her parents often talked to her about two "Blackgowns" whom the Indians had massacred, because they had cast the lot (an evil charm) on the children of the tribe, which made them all die." It seems to be the old superstitious fear of baptism which the Indians regarded as an evil charm for the destruction of their children.

In the "Memoires" of Augustin Grignon of Butte des Morts, Wis. (Wis. Hist. Coll., vol. III), we find that his great-grandfather, on his mother's side, Sieur Augustin de Langlade, born in France of a noble family about 1695, came with his son, Charles de Langlade, born in Mackinaw in 1729, to Green Bay between 1744–46. They may be called the founders of that city. Mr. Grignon's mother, a daughter of Charles de Langlade, was born in Green Bay in 1763. Sieur Augustin de Langlade died in Green Bay about 1771; his son, Charles de Langlade, died there in 1800, and Charles' wife, Augustin Grignon's mother, died in 1818. A. Grignon was born in Green Bay, June 27, 1780, and he was still alive in 1857. His own recollections go back as far as 1785.

Now, in the "Memoires" he nowhere speaks of any missionaries having been killed in the vicinity of Green Bay, though he mentions a thousand little incidents in the life of his maternal grandfather, Charles de Langlade, before and after 1765, the year when those missionaries are said to have been killed. From his silence on the matter we may pretty safely conclude, that, if missionaries were killed at Depere, it must have occurred BEFORE the advent of the first French settlers in Green Bay in 1745 It must have happened between 1721, the year of Charlevoix' visit when Father Chardon was stationed at Green Bay, and 1745, when Sieur Augustin de Langlade settled in Green Bay. The fact that Charlevoix knew nothing about the fact in question, would seem to show that the event must have taken place *after* his visit to the bay in 1721.

Moreover, Augustin Grignon remarks: "*I am perfectly satisfied that from the first settling in Green Bay in 1745, till Father Gabriel Richard, of Detroit, visited it in 1820, no missionaries could have been there.*" He relates how in 1794 his mother had to take her children all the way from Green Bay to Mackinaw in a birch canoe to have them baptized by Father Payet, who had lately arrived at the last named place. Hence we

think that the *date* of said martyrdom, 1765, is not correct; but we think that the fact itself occurred, for there must have existed some reliable tradition upon which the story of the martyrdom of these priests, as given above, is founded. The silence of cotemporary writers does not disprove the fact, for the missionary accounts between 1679 and 1820 are very meagre and incomplete. Moreover, the Foxes and Sacs were of old enemies of the French, with whom they had several wars, one in 1728, and another in 1746 under Morand, when they were defeated at Butte des Morts. It may easily have happened that the French missionaries fell into the hands of the Foxes and were barbarously murdered by them, partly out of hatred of the religion they preached, and partly out of hatred of the nation they belonged to. The fact of the monstrance being found buried in the ground corroborates this view very strongly, for most likely it was hastily buried at an unexpected attack made on the village, and very probably there and then the Fathers were captured and put to death by the victorious Foxes, the same as de Brebeuf and Lalemant had been murdered under similar circumstances.

Grosseilliers and Radisson, the Pioneers of the Northwest.

The "Relation" of 1660, p. 12, does not give the names of the two Frenchmen, who arrived with the Ottawa flotilla in 1660 at Three Rivers. In vol. V, Minn. Hist. Coll., p. 401, two Frenchmen are mentioned as the earliest explorers of Minnesota, namely, Medard Chouart, called Sieur des Grosseilliers, and his brother-in-law, Pierre d'Esprit, the Sieur Radisson. They visited the Tionnontate Hurons at the headwaters of Black River, Wis., and the Dacotah or Sioux in the Mille Lacs region of Minnesota. They spent the spring and early part of summer on the south shore of Lake Superior. They are the identical Frenchmen spoken of in the "Relation" of 1660. *Perhaps* they are also the two Frenchmen who were ice-bound on Madeline (La Pointe) Island and subsequently discovered in a starving condition by some Chippewa Indians residing on the mainland where Bayfield now stands. "On the 19th of August, 1660, Grosseilliers, by

way of the Ottawa River, reached Montreal with three hundred of the Upper Algonquins. They had left Lake Superior with one hundred canoes, but forty turned back, and the value of the peltries was 200,000 livres. In a few days the furs were sold and on the 28th of August, 1660, Grosseilliers left Three Rivers and again turned his face westward, accompanied by six traders and the first missionary for that region, the aged Menard, and his servant, Jean Guerin. The party passed Sault Ste. Marie and on the 15th of October, 1660, were at Keweenaw Bay, and here Father Menard spent the winter."

The authorities for the above statements are not clearly indicated. They appear to be "Neill's History of Minnesota," 5th edition, 1883, and the "Journal des Jesuites," par M. M. les Abbés Laverdiere et Cosgrain, Quebec.

The Chippewa tradition in regard to these two Frenchmen is given by Wm. W. Warren (Minn. Hist. Coll., vol. V, p. 121–2), as follows:

"One clear morning in the early part of winter, soon after the islands, which are clustered in this portion of Lake Superior and known as the Apostles, had been locked in ice, a party of young men of the Ojibways started out from their village in the bay of Shag-a-waum-ik-ong to go, as was customary, and spear fish through holes in the ice, between the island of La Pointe and the main shore, this being considered as the best ground for this mode of fishing. While engaged in this sport they discovered a smoke arising from a point of the adjacent Island, towards its eastern extremity.

"The island of La Pointe was then totally unfrequented, from superstitious fears, which had but a short time previous led to its total evacuation by the tribe, and it was considered an act of the greatest hardihood for anyone to set foot on its shores. The young men returned home at evening and reported the smoke which they had seen arising from the island, and various were the conjectures of the old people respecting the persons, who would dare to build a fire on the spirit-haunted isle. They must be strangers, and the young men were directed, should they again see the smoke, to go and find out who made it.

"Early the next morning, again proceeding to their fishing-ground, the young men once more noticed the smoke arising from the eastern end of the unfrequented island, and

led on by curiosity, they ran thither and found a small log cabin in which they discovered two white men in the last stages of starvation. The young Ojibways, filled with compassion, carefully conveyed them to their village, where, being nourished with great kindness, their lives were preserved.

"These two white men had started from Quebec during the summer with a supply of goods, to go and find the Ojibways, who every year had brought rich packs of beaver to the sea coast, notwithstanding that their road was barred by numerous parties of the watchful and jealous Iroquois. Coasting slowly up the southern shores of the Great Lake late in the fall, they had been driven by the ice on the unfrequented island, and not discovering the vicinity of the Indian village, they had been for some time enduring the pangs of hunger. At the time they were found by the young Indians they had been reduced to the extremity of roasting and eating their woolen cloth and blankets as the last means of sustaining life.

"Having come provided with goods, they remained in the village, exchanging their commodities for beaver-skins. The ensuing spring a large number of Ojibways accompanied them on their return home.

"From close inquiry and judging from events which are said to have occurred about this period of time, I am disposed to believe that this first visit of the whites took place about two hundred years ago (this was written in 1852). It is, at any rate, certain that it happened a few years prior to the visit of the "Black-gowns" mentioned in Bancroft's history, and it is one hundred and eighty-four years since this well-authenticated occurrence."

Nicolas Perrot's Account of Father Menard's Death.[1]

"Father Menard who had been given to the Outaouas (Ottawas) as missionary, accompanied by some Frenchmen, who went to that nation to traffic, was abandoned by all those he had with him, except one, who rendered him until death all the services and help, which he could expect

1 "Memoire" par Nicolas Perrot, pp. 91, 92.

from him. This Father followed the Outaouas to the lake of the Illinoets (Illinois—Lake Michigan) and in their flight on the Louisianne (Mississippi) as far as above Black River. It was there that only one Frenchman remained to accompany this missionary and that the others left him. This Frenchman followed carefully the route of the Outaouas and made his portage wherever they had made theirs, never leaving the river on which they had navigated. One day he found himself in a rapid, which carried him along in his canoe. To help him, the Father took some of his baggage out of the canoe and did not take the right path to get to him. He got on to a trail, much traveled by animals, and in endeavoring to get back to the right path, he got entangled in a labarynth of trees and went astray. The Frenchman having passed the rapids with great difficulty, awaited the good Father, and as the latter did not come, he determined to go in search of him. He hallooed for him with all his might during several days in the woods, hoping to find him, but in vain. However he met on the way a Saki (Sac Indian) who was carrying the kettle of the missionary, and who gave him an account of him (Menard). He assured him that he had found his (Menard's) tracks far away in the woods, but that he had not seen the Father. He told him that he had also found the tracks of several others who were going towards the country of the Sioux. He even declared to him that he thought the Sioux perhaps had killed him, or that he had been taken by them. In fact, many years after, his breviary and cassock were found with that tribe, and they used to expose them at their feasts, offering to them their meats."

The reader will no doubt have noticed the discrepancy between the "Relation" and Perrot's "Memoire" in their account of Father Menard's death. Perrot states that Father Menard followed the Ottawas (and Hurons) in their flight to Lake Michigan and thence to the Mississippi (Louisianne,) as far as above Black River. This is evidently a mistake. According to the "Relation" of 1663, Father Menard went to Keweenaw (St. Theresa) Bay in 1660, and nine months after, on the 13th of July, 1661, started to go to the Huron village at the headwaters of Black River, where he perished about the 10th of August; whereas according to Perrot, the Ottawas and Hurons, with whom Father Menard is said to have stayed till they left Pelée Island, spent *some years* on said island,

prior to their ascending the Black River. If Perrot's statement were true, then Menard and not Marquette, would be the discoverer of the Upper Mississippi.

After the general defeat of the Algonquin tribes by the Iroquois in 1649–50, the Hurons (and Ottawas) settled for some years on Mackinaw Island. Thence they fled to some islands at the entry of Green Bay, thence to the shores of Green Bay, probably at the "Red Clay Banks," about twelve miles below the head of the bay, near Dykesville, where they erected a poor fort and tried to poison their Iroquois besiegers with poisoned corn bread. They went down the Wisconsin and up the Mississippi as far as the head of Lake Pepin, where they settled on an island, about eighteen miles below Prescott. Here they lived some years in peace, till foolishly attempting to invade the territory of the Sioux to get possession of their hunting-grounds, they were defeated by the latter and forced to abandon their island-home. In order to get away from their enemies, who were continually harrassing them, they sailed up the Black River to its source. Here the Hurons constructed a fort, and it was there they were in 1661, when Father Menard attempted to bring them the consolations of religion, and perished probably within a day's journey of their village. The Ottawas had in the meanwhile pushed on to Lake Superior[1] and settled on the shores of Ashland (Chequamegon) Bay, on the flat, between Fish Creek and Ashland. They were afterwards joined by the Hurons, whose village seems to have been on the southwestern end of said bay, and it was there that Father Allouez found both tribes in 1665. Perrot, who came into the country of the great lakes about 1665, obtained his account from Indian and French reports. He was told that Father Menard had been abandoned by the Hurons and that he and his faithful companion had followed the route of said Hurons, carefully noting the places, where they had made portages; but this had reference to the Hurons, whom he had met with at Keweenaw Bay, and who were to pilot him to their village, but abandoned him at Lac Vieux Desert. This Perrot understood of the Hurons on their flight to the head

1 Before arriving at Chequamegon Bay, they probably lived some years at Lac Courte Oreille, which even to this day is called by the Chippewas *Ottawa-sagaigan*, "Ottawa Lake." An Indian tradition affirms that many of them perished on the shores of that lake from starvation, during a severe winter, in which their provisions entirely gave out.

of Green Bay and up the Mississippi. I think this sufficiently explains the discrepancy in the two accounts. Perrot's statements are, in the main, correct and reliable, and with the one exception just explained, they harmonize with the "Relations."

Father Menard went from Keweenaw Bay to Lac Vieux Desert, situated on the boundary line between Michigan and Wisconsin. There he tarried two weeks, waiting in vain for the young Hurons who were to conduct him to their village. His scanty stock of provisions beginning to give out, he starts with only one Frenchman for the Huron village. Their way lay through a country literally sowed with lakes, ponds and swamps. They descend the Wisconsin, being often obliged to make portages at the many rapids on the headwaters of that river. Carefully they follow the route of the Hurons, who had abandoned them at Lac Vieux Desert, making portages wherever they had made them. Finally there remained a long portage from the Wisconsin to Black River. It was probably when making their last portage along some rapids of the Wisconsin that Father Menard got lost and perished. This occurred within perhaps a day's journey from the Huron village on Black River. Hence we are inclined to think that Father Menard died somewhere near the mouth of Copper river, a few miles above Merrill, between there and Medford.

St. Theresa Bay.

No bay of Lake Superior now bears the name given by Father Menard, but there is no doubt but that St. Theresa Bay is what is now called Keweenaw Bay. The "Relation" of 1664, p. 6, says that the bay where Father Menard arrived on St. Theresa day, Oct. 15th, and where he wintered, was a large bay on the south shore of Lake Superior, one hundred leagues above the Sault. It cannot be Chequamegon Bay, for Father Allouez in "Relation" of 1667, p. 9, expressly states that on his way to Chequamegon (Chagaouamigong) Bay he passed the bay called by the aged Father Menard St. Theresa Bay, where he found some Christian women converted by him five years before.

The word "Keweenaw" is a corruption of the Chippewa word "Kakiweonan" (pron. Kah-ke-wa-o-nan), which means

"Where they make a short cut by water," and significantly denotes the passage from the west shore of Keweenaw Point by way of Portage Lake and Portage River to the east shore of said Point. In all probability Father Menard's mission was located at Old Village Point, or "Pikwakwewaming" (Pikwakwewam), "a peninsula in the shape of a knob," about seven miles north of the present town L'Anse, Mich. Father Menard baptized there some fifty adults and many children.

Earthquake of 1663.

We have devoted a chapter to this most remarkable and well authenticated earthquake. We thought it would be interesting to many of our readers, to tourists and others traveling on the St. Lawrence. Besides, this earthquake may have extended to the Lake Superior country. The north shore, the Apostles Islands, in fact, this whole region shows that it has been the scene of great subterraneous disturbances, upheavals and sinkings in bygone times. True, there is no written account that said earthquake of 1663 was felt at Lake Superior; but this is easily accounted for. Father Menard was no more. Father Allouez arrived in 1665. Had any of these missionaries been here in 1663, they would doubtlessly have chronicled this event, if an earthquake had been felt in this upper country. It extended up the Ottawa River, perhaps as far as Georgian Bay and eastward to the Atlantic seaboard. It is certainly one of the most remarkable and most minutely described earthquakes of modern times.

As regards the supernatural features of the earthquake, we find nothing strange or superstitious in the narrative of the "Relations." That an Almighty Being can work miracles is self-evident. That he has done so is a matter of history. The Bible account of the Old and New Testament is full of them. Flavius Josephus relates many preternatural signs that preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, at which he was present. In II. book of the Maccabees, ch. V., we find supernatural facts related more wonderful than those mentioned in the "Relations." Armed soldiers were publicly seen in the air by all the inhabitants of Jerusalem during

forty days, going through all the manœuvres of warfare. The emperor Constantine the Great beheld prior to his celebrated battle with Maxentius near the gates of Rome, October 28th, A. D. 312, at noonday with his whole army a wonderful cross in the skies, with Greek inscription: "En touto nike"—"In this thou shalt conquer." The preternatural sights and the earthquake combined had a most salutary effect upon the inhabitants of the St. Lawrence valley. Hence it was not unworthy of the Deity to use such means for so good an end: the conversion and moral reformation of thousands of people.

FATHER ALLOUEZ—SHORT SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND LABORS.

Father Allouez may justly be called the "Apostle of Wisconsin," for he is the founder of every Indian mission within the limits of our State. On the 1st of October, 1665, he arrived at Chagaouamigong (Shagawamikong) and established the mission of the Holy Ghost at the head of Ashland Bay. Indefatigably he labored there until 1669. Leaving Sault Ste. Marie November the 3d of that same year, he arrived at the head of Green Bay December the 2d. and having said mass with all possible solemnity December 3d, feast of St. Francis Xavier, he founded there the mission of St. Francis Xavier. Afterwards, in 1671, the mission was removed about two leagues up the Fox River to the site of the present city of Depere, where in 1676 a beautiful church was built by Father Albanel. Ten years later, 1686, Nicolas Perrot, author of certain "Memoires" on the customs, wars, and religion of the Algonquin tribes living in the country of the "Great Lakes," made a present to said church of Depere of a beautiful silver monstrance which was found in 1802, buried in the ground probably near the site of the old Jesuit Church.

On the 16th of April, 1670, Father Allouez started from St. Francis mission to visit the Outagamies (Foxes) on the Wolf, and the Mashkoutens, Miamis, Illinois and Kickapous on the upper Fox river. The last named tribe resided at that time about twelve miles below the village of the other three tribes, below the junction of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, probably near Alloa (Allouez). Leaving Green Bay on the 16th of April, he passed Appleton on the 19th, on

which day he says he saw an eclipse of the sun. On the evening of that day, which was a Saturday, he arrived at the entrance of Lake Winnebago and camped there for the night. The next day, Sunday, they sailed as far as the mouth of Wolf River, and the Father said mass on the spot where Oshkosh now stands. He then ascended the Wolf River, and on the 24th arrived at the village of the Outagami, which was situated about six miles above "Little Lake St. Francis" (probably Lake Winneconne) at, or a little below, Mukwa, (Lake Winnebago is called by Allouez, Lake St. Francis). He began his missionary labors among them on St. Mark's day, April the 25th, hence he called it St. Mark's Mission. He found them plunged in great grief on account of a terrible calamity that had in the preceding month of March happened to them. An Iroquois party of eighteen men, led by two Iroquois who had long been captives among the Pottawatamis, attacked a small village of the latter, while the braves were away from home. They killed some six men and one hundred women and children, and led thirty women into captivity. This happened some two days journey from Green Bay, probably not far from Manitowoc. The poor people were too grief-stricken to listen much to the Father's words. He visited them often afterwards and baptized many adults and children.

On the 27th of April, he left St. Mark's mission and on the 29th he ascended the upper Fox River, and on the 30th arrived at the village of the Mashkoutens, three leagues from the junction of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. The village was built about two miles from the bank of the Fox River, on an eminence overlooking a beautiful prairie country, not far from a creek with mineral water on the eastern side of the river, not far from Corning. He published to them the gospel, which they received with great eagerness and docility and baptized five children, who were in danger of death. The mission was called St. James, whose feast falls on the 1st of May, being the day he had announced to them the first tidings of salvation. On the 3d of May he departed and in three days arrived at his mission of St. Francis. On the 6th of the same month he started to visit the Menominees and begun there the mission of St. Michael. They were then residing near the mouth of the river, which bears their name. As he announced to them the gospel on the 8th of May, he

called it St. Michael's Mission, in honor of that great angel, the feast of whose apparition falls on that day. In the fall of the same year, 1670, he visited again the Mashkoutens on the upper Fox River, in company with Father Dablon, Superior of the upper Algonquin missions.

Besides these missions, he established another among the Winnebagoes and Pottawatamies on the eastern shore of Green Bay, between Bay Settlement and Sturgeon Bay, and among the Sacs, whose village was located four leagues up the Fox River, somewhere near Little rapids. Father Louis André took charge of the missions in the immediate vicinity of Green Bay, and Father Allouez attended those further distant. In 1673, when Father Marquette arrived at the mission of St. Francis, at the head of Green Bay, he found over two thousand fervent Christians belonging to that mission and its dependencies. Father Allouez spent almost twenty-five years on the Indian missions of Wisconsin and Illinois, the greatest part of that time being devoted to christianizing the Indians of Wisconsin. He died about 1689 in the mission of St. Joseph, St. Joseph's River, Michigan.

Father Allouez' Message to the Upper Algonquins.

The "Relation" of 1665, p. 9, speaking of Father Allouez' mission to the upper Algonquin tribes residing in the Lake Superior country, says: "Monsieur de Tracy gave the Father three presents, which he was to make to those people as soon as he would arrive in their country, declaring to them:

"First, that the king was going to bring the Iroquois to reason and consequently uphold their (upper Algonquin) country, which was tottering, ready to fall.

"Secondly, that if the Nadouessiouek (Sioux) who are their other enemies, whom they have also on their hands—if they do not want to listen to peace he will compel them by the force of his arms."

"The third present was to exhort all the Algonquin tribes of those quarters to embrace the faith, of which some have had already some tincture through the indefatigable cares and apostolic zeal of Father Rene Menard, who, by a particular conduct of Providence, got lost in their woods, where

he died of hunger and misery, abandoned by all human succor. But God, no doubt, will not have abandoned him, as he is everywhere with those who lose themselves for his love in the conquest of souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ. Some years ago (1656) another one of our Fathers, Father Leonard Garreau, having taken the same road, with the same Outaouac tribe, with the same designs for the salvation of those souls, met happily with death on the second day of his voyage, having been killed in an ambuscade of the Iroquois, who were lying in wait for them."

Chagaouamigong.

The word Chagaouamigong (now corruptly written Chequamegon) is used to designate a long point of land at the entrance of Ashland Bay, sometimes called Light-house Island. The Relations speak of Chagouamigong Point and Bay. Nicolas Perrot speaks of Chagouamigong and applies it to the whole country in the neighborhood of said point of land.

Wm. W. Warren, who spoke Chippewa very fluently, it being his mother-tongue, though his father was American, says the word means "the soft beaver-dam," and in his work "History of the Ojibways," based upon traditions and oral statements, Minn. Hist. Coll. vol. V, he relates an Indian legend to explain the origin of this name. Here it is: Menabosho, the great Indian demi-god, who made the earth anew after the deluge, once was hunting the great manitou-beaver in Lake Superior, which was but a large beaver-pond. The beaver, flying from his powerful enemy, took refuge in Ashland Bay. To capture him, Menabosho built a long dam from the south shore across the bay to La Pointe Island. In doing so, he would take up handfuls of the soft dirt and throw them into the lake, and these are the Apostles Islands. Thus the Indians explain the origin of those islands. Dam finished, off he starts in pursuit of the great beaver. Already he imagines that he has him cornered. But alas! poor Menabosho is doomed to disappointment. The beaver breaks through the soft dam and escapes; hence the word Chagaouamig or Shagawamik, in the locative case Shagawamikong, "The soft beaver-dam."

Bishop Baraga, in his Chippewa-English Dictionary, gives the verb *jagawamika* and defines it: "There is a long, shallow place in the lake, where the waves break"; the letter "j" having the French sound of "j" in the words jour, jardin; philologists represent this sound (j) by zh, to be pronounced like z in *azure*, glazier. The French "ch" corresponds to our English "sh" in *show*, *short*, etc. Hence the "Relations" give *Chagaouamigong*, instead of Shagaouamigong or as it is sometimes written Shagawamikong.

The word is exclusively applied by the Indians at the western extremity of Lake Superior to Shagawamikong Point, near La Pointe; hence the writer thinks that it is a proper noun, the name of a place, given to said point of land by the Indians on account of the above-mentioned legendary incident.

A Very Rev. Friend of ours, who is a great Indian scholar, suggests the following explanation: The point in question was probably first named *jagawamika*. "There are long, far extending breakers," the participle of which is jaiagawamikag, "where there are long breakers." But later on, the legend of the beaver hunt (which is found in other similar localities) being applied to the spot, the people imagined the word *amik* (a beaver) to be a constituent of the compound and changed the ending in accordance with the rules of their language, dropping the final *a* in *jagawamika* and using the locative case *jagawamikong*, instead of the participle *jaiagawamikag*.

SITE OF THE OLD JESUIT CHAPEL OF FATHERS ALLOUEZ AND MARQUETTE; PICTURE AND VESTMENT IN LA POINTE CHURCH.

It is very probable that the bark chapel, built by Father Allouez in 1665, was subsequently replaced by a more solid structure, as he informs us, that one of the objects of his voyage to Quebec in 1667 was to procure French mechanics to build a chapel that would be a subject of wonder to the Indians, many of whom had never seen anything more pretentious than their birch-bark wigwams. Father Allouez failed in securing as many Frenchmen as he had intended; it seems, however, that a few Frenchmen had remained at La

Pointe du Saint Esprit to trade with the Indians. Besides, the "Relation" of 1669 says that there were already two chapels built, one at Sault Ste. Marie and the other at La Pointe du Saint Esprit. The word used, "bastir," seems to imply that those chapels were something more substantial than mere bark chapels; in all probability they were log buildings, fixed up as nicely as possible, on the walls of which the good Fathers hung religious pictures, which served them so well in explaining the various mysteries of our holy faith.

But where stood this old chapel of Fathers Allouez and Marquette? It was certainly *not* on Madeline (La Pointe) Island. The "Relation" of 1667 plainly states that Father Allouez found at the *head of Chequamegon Bay* ("Chagaouamigong") a large village of Indians, from seven different tribes, numbering 800 men capable of bearing arms, and *that it was there* he made his ordinary abode and *constructed his chapel.* Again, the "Relation" of 1660 says that at that time two chapels had been actually built, the one at the "Sault" and the other at "La Pointe du Saint Esprit." Now, the Jesuit map of 1671, drawn up most probably by Marquette and Allouez, places the mission of the Holy Ghost on the *mainland*, on the *Bayfield peninsula*, if it may be called so, at the head of Chequamegon Bay, near the southwest corner of said bay, between the head of the bay and the modern town of Washburn. Father Marquette's map of 1674, which he drew up after exploring the Mississippi, also places the mission of the Holy Ghost at the head of Chequamegon Bay.

There is not a particle of truth in the notion that the old Jesuit chapel—often called by tourists, Marquette's church—stood on La Pointe Island, nor is any part of said structure incorporated into the present church. The La Pointe church is, for all that, an object worthy of veneration, as it is the oldest catholic church in Wisconsin, dating from 1835. It was built by Father, afterwards Bishop Baraga, at Middlefort, near the Indian cemetery, on the south-eastern side thereof. It was taken down in 1841 and rebuilt, much enlarged, on its present site.

It is currently reported that there is in La Pointe church a vestment worn by Father Marquette and left there by him. That is another fable which we feel it our duty to explode. The vestments there were procured by Bishop Baraga and his successors; not one of them dates from the seventeenth

century. As to the picture—"The taking down of the body of Christ from the cross"—we are not prepared to pronounce on its origin. A vague and, as we honestly believe, unfounded tradition ascribes it to Father Marquette. That the Father had pictures, we know from the "Relation" of 1672, which states that the Sioux returned him the pictures he had sent them. No doubt the picture in La Pointe church is very old and crumbled up, as if it had been for a long time in some Indian's medicine-bag. We incline to the opinion that it was brought from Europe by Bishop Baraga.

ENGRAVED COPPER-PLATE OF TAGWAGANÉ, INDIAN CHIEF OF LA POINTE; FIRST ARRIVAL OF THE CHIPPEWAS AT SHAGAWAMIKONG (CHEQUAMEGON).

Mr. Warren, speaking of the first arrival of the Chippewas at La Pointe, says: "The Loon is the totem also of a large clan (of the Chippewa nation). This bird is denominated by the Ojibways 'Mang,' but the family, who claim it as their badge, are known by the generic name of 'Ah-auh-waub,' which is derived by imitating its peculiar cry. This family claim the hereditary first chieftainship in the tribe, but they cannot substantiate their pretensions further back than their first intercourse with the old French discoverers and traders, who, on a certain occasion, appointed some of their principal men as chiefs, and endowed them with flags and medals. Strictly confined to their own primitive tribal polity, the allegory of the Cranes (given by Chief Tagwagané in a speech held by him at the treaty of La Pointe in 1842, and which Warren gives elsewhere in full, in which he claims the chieftaincy for the Crane totem) cannot be controverted, nor has it ever been gainsaid.

"To support their claim, this family hold in their possession a circular plate of virgin copper, on which are rudely marked indentations and hieroglyphics denoting the number of generations of the family who have passed away since they first pitched their lodges at Shagawamikong and took possession of the adjacent country, including the island of La Pointe or Moningwanekaning.

"When I witnessed this curious family register in 1842, it was exhibited by Tagwagané to my father. The old chief

kept it carefully buried in the ground, and seldom displayed it. On this occasion he only brought it to view, at the entreaty of my mother, whose maternal uncle he was. Father, mother and the old chief, have all since gone to the land of spirits, and I am the only one still living who witnessed on that occasion this sacred relic of former days.

"On this plate of copper were marked eight deep indentations, denoting the number of his ancestors who had passed away since they first lighted their fire at Shagawamikong. They had all lived to a good old age.

"By the rude figure of a man with a hat on his head, placed opposite one of these indentations, was denoted the period, when the white race first made its appearance among them. This mark occurred in the third generation, leaving five generations, which have passed away since that important era in their history.

"Tagwagané was about sixty years of age at the time he showed this plate of copper, which he said descended to him through a long line of ancestors. He died two years ago (i. e. about 1850), and his death has added the ninth indentation thereon; *making, at this period, nine generations since the Ojibways first resided at La Pointe*, or six generations since their first intercourse with the whites.

"From the manner in which they estimate their generations, they may be counted as comprising a little over half the full term of years allotted to mankind, which will materially exceed the white man's generation. The Ojibways never count a generation as passed away, till the oldest man in the family has died, and the writer assumes from these, and other facts obtained through observation and inquiry, *forty years* as the term of an Indian generation. It is necessary to state, however, for the benefit of those who may consider this as an over-estimate, that since the introduction of intoxicating drinks and diseases of the whites, the former well authenticated longevity of the Indians has been materially lessened.

"According to this estimate, it is now (1852) three hundred and sixty years since the Ojibways first collected in one grand central town on the Island of La Pointe (about A. D. 1492), and two hundred and forty years since they were first discovered by the white race (about 1612), and seventy-seven years after Jacques Cartier, representing the French nation,

obtained his first formal meeting with the Indians of the interior of Canada (in 1535), and fifty-six years (1668—Warren's mistake) before Claude Allouez (as mentioned in Bancroft's History of America) first discovered the Ojibways (?) congregated in the Bay of Shagawamikong, preparing to go on a war excursion against their enemies, the Dacotah.

"From this period the Ojibways are traditionally well possessed of the most important events which have happened to them as a tribe, and from nine generations back, I am prepared to give, as obtained from their most veracious, reliable and oldest men, their history, which may be considered authentic." (Minn. Hist. Coll., vol. V.)

Silver Crucifix found at Bad River.

"The circumstance also is worthy of mention, that a few years ago (this was written in 1852) an old Indian woman dug up an antique silver crucifix in her garden at Bad River (Odanah), near La Pointe, after it had been deeply ploughed. This discovery was made under my own observation, and I recollect at the time it created quite a little excitement among the good Catholics of La Pointe, who insisted that the great Spirit had given this as a token for the old woman to join the church. The crucifix was found about *two feet* from the surface of the ground, composed of pure silver, about three inches long and size in proportion. It has since been buried at Gull Lake, in the grave of a favorite grandchild of the Indian woman, to whom she had given it as a plaything." (Wm. W. Warren in Minn. Hist. Coll., vol. V, p. 117.)

Perhaps this crucifix was given by Father Allouez or Marquette to some Christian chief or man of distinction and buried with him.

Beautiful Silver Monstrance found in Depere in 1802.

We copy the following article from the "*Wisconsin State Journal*" of 1878, written by J. D. Butler:

"Sixteen hundred and eighty-one is the date of the oldest tombstone at Plymouth on the hill above the rock where the Pilgrim fathers landed. Wisconsin has a relic as old wanting

five years, attesting the presence of European settlers within her borders. It is a memorial as indubitably genuine as the Massachusetts gravestone, and more wonderful for many reasons.

"This curiosity by a strange good fortune stands before me as I write. It is a silver ornament fifteen inches high and elaborately wrought. A standard nine inches high supports a radiated circlet closed with glass on both sides and surmounted with a cross. This glass case, accessible by a wicket, was intended to contain the sacramental wafer (the sacred host) when exhibited for popular veneration. The sacred utensil is called a "*soleil*," as resembling in shape the solar orb, and also a "*monstrance*" and an "*ostensorium*," because used to demonstrate or ostentate the holy host.

"The antiquity of the relic before me is beyond doubt or cavil. Around the rim of its oval base I read the following inscription, in letters every one of which, though rude, is perfectly legible :

† Ce soleil a este donnè par Mr. Nicolas Perrot a la Mission de St. Francois Xavier en la Baye des Puants, † 1686.

That is in English : "This *solary* was presented by Mr. Nicolas Perrot to the mission of Saint Francis Xavier at Green Bay in the year 1686."

"A lawyer full of skeptical suggestions, like the Satanic toad squatting at the ear of Eve, whispers that this inscription might be cut in our time as easily as two centuries ago. So, too, it were as easy to write his legal documents, if forged, as if genuine,—yet he believes in them.

"The ostensorium was sent to me by the Bishop of Green Bay. The inscription on it was printed by Shea, "History of Catholic Missions" in 1855. But the shrine on which it is engraved had been plowed up fifty-three years before, at Depere, in 1802. Such is the Catholic tradition, which we have no reason to distrust.

"Regarding Perrot, the donor of the ostensory, little was known where it was unearthed. But it is now ascertained that he was traversing the northwest in 1663 and for a quarter of a century thereafter. He was the earliest and ablest of those French agents sent west of Lake Michigan to gather up fragments of nations scattered by the Iroquois, and confederate them under French leadership against those invet-

erate foes of France. His adventures, largely in Wisconsin, he wrote out, not for publication, but for the information of Canadian governors ("Memoire"). These memoirs, laid up in Parisian archives, were never printed till 1864, and remain to this day untranslated. The date on the ostensory tallies with the period when he was Governor of Green Bay and all the Northwest. Such a present was in keeping with his devotional proclivities, his fondness for the missionaries, and his desire to make his favor for those apostles manifest to Indian converts.

"The mission at Depere—five miles above Green Bay—was the oldest west of Lake Michigan, except that at La Pointe. It was established sixteen years before the date of Perrot's present, that is in 1670. The first chapel was probably a bark wigwam, but in 1676 a fine church was erected through the efforts of Father Charles Albanel. The same year Father Silvy reported as baptized at that station thirty-six adults and one hundred and twenty-six children. But within a twelve-month after the benefaction of Perrot, the Depere church was burned by pagan Indians. It is natural to suppose that at the first alarm the ostensory was buried in the earth by its guardians, who sought to save it from sacrilegious hands, and who succeeded so well that they were never able to recover it themselves. The earth of Depere was a sort of Pompeii, sealing up in secrecy and safety a witness who stood much nearer the cradle of our history than Pompeii to that of Italy.

"A *fac simile* of the marvelous monstrance has been taken of *life*-size by our photographic artist, Mr. Jones, and will soon be exhibited in the halls of the Historical Society. The original I restore to the Bishop of Green Bay, F. X. Krautbauer, who keeps it in his vault. On Christmas night (should read, Holy Saturday night), 1834 (should read, 1838), it was stolen from the church by some drunken soldiers from Fort Howard, but recovered the next day. It was afterwards carried to France and brought back only a few years ago. Its weight is a trifle over twenty ounces, and the *repousse* work, rayonnant and flamboyant, attest that it must have been manufactured in France itself,—just as the rudeness of the lettering bears witness of a Green Bay provincial goldsmith. An odd bit of proof has fallen in my way that the *soleil* is at least seven years older than 1686, the date of

its consecration to the mission. It is this: In 1679 Louis XIV. issued a decree that every *soleil* should have a mark and countermark stamped on its oval base. The soleil now before me bears no such stamp. Either, therefore, it is older than 1679, or through pious fraud it evaded the royal order. The base was broken from the standard by the plow, but the fracture was well repaired.

"There are four memorials older than the ostensorium of Perrot, proving the presence of white men in Wisconsin,—but they are all treasured far beyond its borders, and I fear will be for a long time. One is the original manuscript of Marquette, detailing his journey across Wisconsin and down the Mississippi, which was written at Green Bay in the winter of 1673–4. This writing is in the college of St. Mary at Montreal. The second memorial is Joliet's notes on the same journey, written on his return to France in 1674, and preserved in the seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris. The other two are maps, both preserved in Parisian archives, one is of Lake Superior, drawn up in 1671; the other dating from 1679, "shows the Messipi from 49° to 42°, where the Misconsing comes in," according to an inscription upon it.

"Fragments of French arms and other metallic, glass or earthern articles doubtless exist in the northwest, that are older than the sacred silver relic of Perrot. But none known to me can be proved of so great antiquity, for none of them can bear dates that are tell-tales of their age. In Ottawa I saw a bronze cross picked up at the foot of Starved Rock, and called Marquette's; but it bears no date. There is another of silver that was found at Green Bay and presented long ago to our State Historical Society, but how old it is no one knows, or can know.

"Some other dated native offering to the La Pointe or Green Bay missions even before 1686 may possibly come to light, but aside from such an improbable windfall, it seems impossible that any antiquarian discovery this side of the prehistoric period, either in Wisconsin, or, indeed, out of it, in all the length and breadth of the Mississippi valley, can ever be made that shall rival, as a work of art, as a religious relic, and above all as a historical memorial, the silver ostensorium of Nicolas Perrot. With good reason, then, has Wis-

consin fostered her Historical Society till it is preëminent throughout the West. It had the most precious memorial to enshrine. J. D. Butler.

Madison, July 22, 1878.

Silver Monstrance of Father Allouez.

"An Indian with the name of "Kiskirinanso, *i. e.* Chopped Buffalo," of the tribe of Maskoutin, a war-chief renowned among his people, says that in a small river to which he will conduct me, he had found a lot of white metal, a piece of which, he says, he gave to Father Allouez, and that Brother Charles, a goldsmith who resided at the Bay of the Puants (Green Bay), had worked it and made thereof a soleil (monstrance, ostensory), in which the holy bread is put; this is the silver monstrance which the same Brother made there; that Father Allouez had given him in reward some goods and told him to keep this thing secret, as it (the white metal) was a manitou, *i. e.* a spirit that is not dead." (La Salle's letter, in Margry, vol. II, p. 178–9.)

N. B.—The writer has translated the above from a slip of paper written in German, which Rev. N. Kersten, Green Bay, kindly sent him.

Curious Ancient Medal dug up at Fort Howard.

"While the first colonists of Massachusetts, Manhattan and Virginia were struggling to make good their settlements on the coast, a bold Frenchman, Nicolet, was exploring Green Bay and the river entering into it. As early as 1669 the Jesuit Father, Allouez, began to announce Christianity to the Sacs and Foxes, Winnebagoes and Pottawatamies, around that bay. These missions continued for more that a century (?) and the plow and spade in our day frequently turn up some evidence of the labors of these early clergymen.

"Some years since, a silver monstrance was found near Green Bay, the inscription on it showing that it had been presented in 1684 (?) to the chapel there, by Nicolas Perrot, a man who bore a conspicuous part in the French exploration and development of the West.

"May, 1878, Patrick McCabe, a railroad laborer of Depere, a spot five miles from Green Bay, which in its name recalls the early missionaries, while digging out gravel for the railroad, near the site where the American Fort Howard was built years ago, so long indeed that no trace of it remains, found a curious old medal of which we give a picture.

"It is one evidently struck in Italy, as indicated by the word 'Roma,' and by the whole style of the workmanship. It was struck for use by the Jesuits, a fact which may not appear at once, but is proved by the fact that on the little orb surrounded by cherubs is the arms of the Society of Jesus, the letters I. H. S., surmounted by a cross, with the three nails beneath it.

"Without the nails, it is a common Roman Catholic symbol, but with that addition it is the special insignia of the Jesuits, a fact which architects and glass-stainers ought to know, for it is rather odd to find a Protestant church sometimes with what unintentionally declares it to be Jesuit property.

"The workmanship of the medal is apparently not later than the seventeeth century, and has the look of having been moulded and cast from one struck by a die. This is not impossible, and it may be a specimen of early western metal work. The Jesuits had lay-brothers and donnés, at Sault Ste. Marie and Green Bay, who were smiths, and we know that one at the Sault used to go up Lake Superior to get native copper, with which he manufactured crucifixes, etc., for the use of the missionaries. He would naturally take molds of any such articles as he could find and reproduce them. The missions lasted at Green Bay till about 1729, and were visited subsequently at intervals.

"The medal, lost probably more than a century ago by a missionary or one of his dusky converts, bears on one side the figure of the Blessed Virgin, standing on the moon, her head encircled by stars, with two cherubs, and the inscription: *B. Virgo sine Pecc(ato) origi(nali) conc(epta)*—"Blessed Virgin conceived without original sin"—and on the reverse an orb with the monogram as described, and two kneeling angels, with the legend: "*Sia l(odato) il S. S. Sacramento*" —"Blessed be the most Holy Sacrament."

"The medal has excited no little interest, and has been kindly sent to us by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Krautbauer, Roman Catholic Bishop of Green Bay." (JOHN GILMARY SHEA.)

COPPER CRUCIFIX FOUND IN DEPERE.

A crucifix of copper, supposed to have been worked by a Jesuit lay-brother under Father Allouez after 1670, has been found in Depere together with two Indian skulls and a stone pipe, July 7th, 1879.

Indian Customs of Lake Superior Country.

INDIAN SUPERSTITIONS; DEMON-WORSHIP; RELIGIOUS RITES AND CEREMONIES; FROM PERROT'S "MEMOIRE." [1]

"It cannot be asserted that (pagan) Indians profess any doctrine; it is certain that they do not follow, so to say, any religion. They only observe some Jewish customs; for they have certain feasts at which they do not make use of a knife to cut the meats that have been boiled, but tear and devour them with their teeth. Their women also, when they have given birth to a child, have the custom of not entering for one month the cabin of their husbands; they are not even allowed during all that time to eat with the men nor to partake of anything prepared by them. For this reason they do their cooking apart."

"As their principal divinities, Indians acknowledge the Great Hare, the Sun, and Demons; I mean those who have not been converted. They invoke most frequently the Great Hare, as they venerate and adore him as the creator of the earth; also the Sun, as the author of light. But they also put the wicked spirit among the number of their gods, and, if they invoke them, it is because they fear them and in the invocation, which they make to them, they beg of them life. Those among the Indians whom the French call jugglers (medicine-men), speak to the devil, whom they consult in regard to war and the chase."

"They have, besides, many other divinities to whom they pray and who, they claim, reside in the air, on the land, and beneath the earth. The gods of the air are thunder, lightning, and in general all visible objects that they cannot comprehend, for instance, the moon, eclipses and whirlwinds.

1 Perrot's "Memoire," pp. 12, 13, 19, 20, 21.

The gods of the land consist in malignant and injurious creatures, especially serpents, tigers, and other animals or birds with animal-like claws. They also comprise under this head such animals as are extraordinary in their kind for beauty or deformity. The gods beneath the earth, are bears, who pass the entire winter without eating, nourishing themselves only from the substance which they extract from their navel (umbilicus) sucking. They have a similar regard for such animals as live in caves or holes under ground, whom they invoke when they have dreamt of them in their sleep."

"For such like invocations, they get up a feast consisting of eatables or tobacco, to which the sachems are invited, and the host declares in their presence the dream he had. They do this whenever they offer up a sacrifice feast in honor of the Manitou, of whom they dreamed. At such feasts one of the headmen makes a speech, and naming the creature to which the feast is vowed, he addresses it in the following words: "Be merciful to him who offers thee these viands"—naming each kind of meat that is being offered. "Have pity on his family; grant him all he needs!" All present answer in chorus "O! O' several times until the prayer is finished. This "O!" means the same with them as "Amen" with us. There are some who at such feasts oblige the guests to eat all there is; others again do not oblige you to do so; you may eat what you like and take the rest home."

"They honor the Great Tiger, as the god of the water, whom the Algonquins and others speaking the same language call Michipissy.[1] They tell you that this Michipissy lives in a very hollow cave; that he has a large tail, which excites great winds whenever he moves it in going to drink; but when he wiggles it lively, it causes great tempests. On the voyages they are obliged to make, be they long or short, they invoke him in the following manner: "Thou who art the master of the winds favor our voyage and give us calm weather." This they say while smoking a pipe of tobacco, the smoke of which they blow up into the air. However, before undertaking somewhat long voyages, they are sure to tomahawk some dogs, whom they hang up on some tree or pole. Oftentimes also they vow to the sun, or lake, dressed

1 The same Manitou, called by Father Allouez (Relation of 1667) "Missibizi." Bishop Baraga spells the word Mishibiji (pron. mee-shee-be-zhee) and defines it, *a lion.*

skins of elk, hinds, or bucks, in order to obtain good weather. If in winter they have to make a voyage on the ice, they invoke for this purpose a certain spirit, called by the Algonquins Mateomek, to whom they offer the smoke of tobacco, praying him to be propitious and favorable to them on their journey. But this devotion is practiced with considerable carelessness, the little fervor they have then not nearly approaching that which they have on solemn feasts."

"The Nepissings, otherwise also called Nepissiniens, the Amikouas, and all tribes allied to them assert that the Amikouas, which means, *Offspring of the Beaver*, derive their origin from the carcass of the Great Beaver, whence came forth the first man of that tribe. They say that this beaver left Lake Huron and entered a certain river called French River. When water was beginning to fail, he constructed some dams in said river, which are now rapids and portages. When he came to the river which rises in Lake Nepissing, he crossed over and followed several other rivulets and creeks, which he passed. He then came to the river, which issues from Outenulkame, where he went to work again and constructed dams in those places, where he did not find enough water. These are now the roads and rapids where a person is obliged to make portages. Having thus spent several years in his voyages, he resolved to people the earth with children whom he left there, and who multiplied wherever he had passed in penetrating the creeks which he had discovered on his way. Finally he arrived below the calumets, where for the last time he made some dams. Turning back on his tracks, he saw that he had formed a beautiful lake (Lake Superior) and there he died. They believe that he is buried north of the lake, towards a place where the mountain resembles the shape of a beaver, and that his tomb is there, and for this reason they call it "The place where reposes the slain Beaver." When Indians pass by there they invoke him and blow smoke (from their pipes) into the air to honor his memory and to beg of him to be favorable to them on the voyage they have to undertake. If a stranger or some poor widow in want, residing near these Amikouas, or near some one of their family, happen to see a branch corroded by some beaver during night, the first one who finds it at the entrance of his tent, picks it up and carries it to the master of the family, who immediately causes a collection of victuals

to be made for this poor person, because he is mindful of their ancestors, and the people of that village club together with a good will to make a present to him who has done them the honor of reminding them of their origin (namely, that they are descended from the Great Beaver). They do not practice these things among the French, as they ridiculed both them and their superstition."

Indian Feast and War Dance, from Perrot's "Memoire."[1]

"There are other feasts in use among the Indians, in which a certain kind of adoration is practiced, in consecrating to the pretended divinity not only the meats of the feast, but also exhibiting at his feet the contents of a leather bag, which they call "the war bag," or in their language, their "Pindikossan" (Baraga, Pindjigossan[2]), which contains the skins of owls, snakes, white birds, parrots, magpies and other very rare animals. They have also in those bags roots or powders, to be used as medicines (hence the name, medicine-bag). Before the feast they always fast, without either eating or drinking, until they have had a dream. During this fast they blacken their face, shoulders and breast with coal; they smoke, however. Some are said to have fasted twelve consecutive days—which seems incredible—and others less. If they dream of a divinity residing on or under the ground, they continue to blacken themselves, as has been said, with coals; but if they dream of the great hare or of the spirits of the air, they wash themselves and then besmear themselves with black earth; from that very evening they begin the solemnity of the feast.

"The author of the feast invites two companions to assist him at the feast and they have to sing with him in order to propitiate the divinity of which they have dreamt, and for which the ceremony is intended. Formerly, when they had

1 "Memoire," pp. 14–19.

2 W. W. Warren (Minn. Hist. Coll., vol. V, p. 68) says: "The Ojibway pinjig-o-saun, or as we term it, "medicine bag," contains all he holds most sacred; it is preserved with great care, and seldom ever allowed a place in the common wigwam, but is generally left hanging in the open air on a tree, where even an ignorant child dare not touch it. Its contents are never displayed without much ceremony."

no guns, they used to make as many proclamations (public invitations to the feast) as there were large kettles on the fire for boiling the different meats. Then the author of the feast begins to sing with his two assistants, who are daubed with vermilion or a tincture of red. This song is solely sang in honor of the divinity of which he dreamed, for each creature, animate and inanimate, has its own peculiar song (by which it is to be honored, praised, and invoked). They continue singing during that night all those songs that are sang in honor of other imaginary deities, until all the guests are assembled. All the guests being assembled the feast-giver begins to intone alone the song which belongs to the god of whom he dreamed.

"The feast consists of dog meat, as the flesh of a dog is considered as the best and most highly prized of all meats. They add several other kinds of meat, for instance, that of the bear, elk, or of some other large animal; if they have none they supply the deficiency with Indian corn seasoned with fat, which they pour upon the plate of each guest. You will take notice that, to render this feast solemn, there must be a dog, whose head is presented to the principal war chief; the other parts of the animal are distributed among the warriors. When the meat is boiled they take the kettles off the fire and a herald makes public proclamation in the village to let people know that the feast is ready and that now everyone may come. The men are allowed to come with their arms and the old men each with his plate. They are not ceremonious as to place, sitting promiscuously, without order, wherever they like; strangers are as welcome as the inhabitants of the place, they are even served the first and are given the best things of the feast.

"When everyone is seated at his place the author of this ceremony, who always remains standing, assisted by his two companions, his wife and children having seated themselves on both sides of him ornamented with their best trinkets, and his two companions armed like himself with a javelin or a quiver of arrows, raises at first his voice so as to make himself understood by all present, saying that he offers these viands in sacrifice to such a manitou, naming him, and that it is to him he offers them. These are the words he uses: "I adore and invoke thee that thou mayest be favorable to me in the enterprise I have on hand, and that thou mayest

have pity on me and my whole family. I invoke *all the bad and good spirits*, all those who are in the air, on the earth, and underneath, that they may preserve me and my party, and that we may be able to return, after a happy voyage, to our country." Then all present answer in chorus, "O ! O !" These kinds of feasts are generally only got up on an occasion of war or some other enterprise against their personal enemies. If a Frenchman happens to be present, they do not say, "*I invoke the bad spirits*"; they pretend to invoke only the good manitous. The words they use in these invocations are so peculiar, that only they themselves can understand them. They usually have recourse to those spirits, whom they imagine to be the most powerful and who can be more propitious to them than others. They even imagine that they cannot escape the accidents that may happen to them on the part of their enemies, or other misfortunes, if they have omitted these invocations.

"The master of the feast, having finished his invocations in the posture above described, with his bow and quiver of arrows, his javelin or dagger, assumes a most furious look, entones his war song, and at each syllable that he pronounces makes most horrible contortions of head and body, the most terrible that can be seen. All this, however, is done according to a certain rising and falling inflection of the voice; for both the voice and the body accord at the same instant with the demonstrations of his enmity, which show that his courage grows stronger more and more, walking always according to the tunes and inflections of his song from one end of the place to the other, where the feasting is going on. Thus he goes back and forward several times continuing his gesticulations, and when he passes before the guests, who are seated on the ground on both sides facing each other, they answer his war-song without discord, shouting in one voice, "Ouiy ! Ouiy !" from the bottom of their throat. But the most agreeable thing in their inflections occurs when in certain parts of his song he pronounces two or three syllables a great deal faster than the rest; when this occurs, all present do the same, answering "Ouiy !" quicker, observing the tempo which the cadence requires. This is observed so regularly, that out of five hundred assembled not one is found to fail therein.

"All the women, children, and in general all in the village who were not invited to the feast, go there of themselves, in order to be spectators of the solemnity. They lose eating and drinking, and often abandon their wigwams, which they thus leave exposed to be plundered by other Indians who are naturally prone to stealing.

"After the master of the feast has got through walking and singing, he assumes the same posture he had heretofore. One of his companions now takes his place and enacts the same drama, which he saw performed a moment ago, and after he gets through, he joins the master of the feast. The other assistant also chants in his turn, and after him all the guests, one after another, and they endeavor to outdo one another in assuming most furious appearances. While singing, some fill their plates with hot ashes and burning coals, which they throw upon the spectators who vociferate in chorus with a very strong, but slow voice, "Ouiy!" Other seize fire-brands and throw them up into the air; others, again, act as if they were going to tomahawk the spectators. These last are obliged to repair the affront, offered to him whom they feigned to strike, by making him a present of vermilion, knife, or some other object of like value. Only such warriors as have slain or captured an enemy are allowed to act in this manner. These feints signify that it is thus that he slew the enemy. But were he not to give something to him whom he might chance to address in the company, the latter would tell him before all present that he was a liar and never capable of slaying anybody, which then would cover him with shame.

"During the singing of these songs they show themselves haughty, intrepid, and ready to overcome all dangers such as they have heretofore met with in those places where they have been in war. When they stop singing at certain intervals, all present cry out in chorus: "Ouiy!" After that they continue to chant, one after another, each in his turn, sometimes three or four together. When doing so, they station themselves one at each end and one in the middle of the place where the feast is going on; and, walking from one end of the cabin to the other, they meet without losing a single note of their song, nor changing the contortions of their face and body, although they sing different songs with different gestures. The guests follow the singing and answer

in their turn whenever the dancers pass before them. It must be remarked that each man has his own peculiar song, neither can anyone chant his comrade's song without insulting him, which affront would draw a blow of the tomahawk on the head of him who had thus sung the war-song of another, that being the greatest insult that a person could offer him in an assembly where he is present. This war-song of his cannot be sang even after his death on days of solemnity, unless by those of his family who bear his name. On ordinary days, when no feast is being celebrated, it is lawful to sing it in his presence, provided the singer is not sitting at the time and that he knows that the owner of the song pretends to ignore it to be his.

"When all present have chanted, those who have been chosen to wait upon the guests first take the plates of the strangers which they fill and place before them. They then wait upon their chiefs. When waiting upon the chiefs and the strangers, they give them the best they have at the feast. They deal out portions to the other guests indiscriminately, without making any distinction, all of whom are sitting on the ground, which serves them for a table, and there they hold the plate, brought along, between their legs. Above all, everyone must come provided with his own plate; otherwise he would not get his share. Hence they never fail in this, the Indian being naturally too gluttonous to forget on an occasion like this to fill well his belly.

"When they have determined to make a general march into their enemies' country, or to form small war-parties, the leader makes a feast such as has just been described. Those who feel inclined to go with him, meet there to be enrolled with him, for he would not be accompanied by a single person if he had not first feasted them. The march is conducted according to his orders. As long as it lasts, the leader has his face, shoulders and breast blackened with earth or coal. He is also very careful to chant every morning when starting his death-song without ever failing in it until he is out of danger, or has returned to his village, where he makes again a feast in case no evil happened him, in order to thank the spirit who has been favorable to him on his journey. To this feast are invited the chiefs of the village and those who accompanied him in his enterprise."

Indian Marriages.[1]

"There are some Indian tribes where people marry to live together until death, and there are others where the married separate whenever they like.[2] The Iroquois, the Loups (Mohikans, Mohegans), and some other tribes follow the last named custom; but the Ottawas (Outaouas) marry to live with their wives all their life, unless a very strong reason causes the husband to repudiate his wife. For without such a reason the husband would be exposed to the danger of being plundered by his wife and of suffering thousand indignities at her hands, for the woman, whom he had abandoned to marry another, would put herself at the head of her relatives and take from him what he had with him and what could be found in his lodge; she might pull his hair and scratch his face, and, in one word, there is no indignity or affront which she could not heap upon him and which she would be justified in inflicting on him, and that without his being able to prevent her, unless he would be willing to become the scorn of the village. In case such a husband does not marry somebody else, the woman he has deserted may plunder him when returning from the chase or traffic, leaving him but his arms, and even these she at last takes from him, should he still refuse to return to her. But if he can prove that she was unfaithful to him before, or even after leaving her, he can marry someone else without her being able to complain of it. The wife on her part cannot leave her husband, because he is her master, as he has bought her and paid for her. Even her folks cannot take her away from him, and if she leave him, custom authorizes him to kill her without hinderance. This has many a time caused war between families, who were determined to uphold the right of the husband (in slaying his wife) when she would not consent to return to him.

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1 "Memoire," pp. 22, 23.

2 The writer is not aware of any particular marriage ceremony among our pagan Chippewas. They simply come and live together for life, or as long as they can agree. They have very loose notions in regard to matrimony, and for very slight reasons part and marry somebody else. Polygamy is very rare, but divorces and adulterous marriages are frequent. They marry without much consideration and readily abandon one another. Even among the Christians the standard of morality is very low in many places, especially where they come in frequent contact with the irreligious, impure and materialistic civilization of this country. Invalid marriages are, nine cases out of ten, the cause of apostasy on the part of Christian Indians.

"The Iroquois, the Loups, and some other tribes, do not act like the Ottawas towards their wives; still there are some who never part, and who during life love each other solely. But the far greater number, especially the young, only marry to leave one another whenever they think proper. They will each take a woman during a voyage of hunting or of trafficking and divide with her one-half of the profit they may have made. A man can even make a bargain with a woman as to what he will give her for the time he intends to keep her, with the understanding that she is to be faithful to him; after having made the voyage she can leave him again. Still there are some to be found who mutually love each other and who always remain united, especially such as have had children together, which children, according to Indian custom, belong to the mother, as they always live with her, that is males, until they are able to get married, and girls until their mother's death. Should the father of a family abandon his wife, the children he had by her, when grown up, would treat him with contempt and heap reproaches on him for having abandoned them in their infancy, having left to their mother the care and trouble of raising them."

On the Manner in which the Indians of the Lake Superior Country conducted their Funeral Ceremonies.[1]

"When an Ottawa or other Indian is about to die, they bedeck him with the most beautiful trinkets his folks have, I mean his parents and relatives. They arrange his hair and paint it with red paint mixed with grease. They also daub his body and face with vermilion, and put a shirt on him of the nicest kind, if there be any on hand. He is clothed with a jacket and blanket of the richest kind—in one word, he is dressed as gaudily as if he were to give a great feast. They carefully adorn the place where he lies with strings of beads, circlets (of fancy stuffs) and other gewgaws. His arms are at his side, and at his feet, generally, all that he used in war during life. All his relatives and especially the medicine-men are about him.

1 "Memoire," pp. 32–36.

"When the sick man appears to be in his agony and on the point of expiring, his female relatives, and others who have been hired for the purpose, begin to cry, singing mournful songs in which mention is made of the degree of relationship between them and the dying man. But whenever he seems to revive and regain his senses they cease to cry, commencing, however, their wails and lamentations over again as often as the sick man falls into convulsions or gets weak spells.

"When he is dead or a moment before expiring, they place him in a sitting position as if he were still alive, his back being supported. I will say here, *en passant*, that I have seen some whose death-agony lasted for more than twenty-four hours, and who made terrible grimaces and contortions, their eyes rolling in the most horrible manner. You would have believed that the soul of the dying man saw and noticed some enemy, although he was senseless and almost dead. The dead remain in a sitting position till the next day and are kept in this posture by their relatives and friends who come to see them. They are also assisted from time to time by an old woman who places herself before the female relatives of the deceased there present; shedding hot tears she begins a lugubrious song, all the other women joining in, and whenever she stops singing they do the same. They then offer her a piece of meat or a plate of grain, or something else.

"As to the men, they do not weep, that being considered unworthy of them. Only the father of the deceased evinces by his mournful song that there is nothing in the world that can console him for the loss of his son. A brother does the same for an elder brother, if he has received from him during life sensible tokens of tenderness and friendship. He disrobes, daubs his face with coal and red streaks. He has his bow and arrow in hand as if he meant to attack the first man he would meet. Chanting a song in a most furious manner, he runs like a madman through the place, streets, and wigwams of the village without shedding a single tear, showing to all who meet him how great is the sorrow he feels at the loss of his brother. This moves the hearts of his neighbors to compassion and engages them to make up among themselves a present for the deceased, declaring in the harangue that accompanies it that this present is given to dry the tears of the dead man's relatives, and that the mat which they give him is intended for him to repose on (in the land of spirits);

if the gift consists of bark (birch-bark), they say it is intended to preserve his body from the injurious effects of the weather (rain, snow).

"When they are about to bury the body, they go for the persons chosen for this function. They erect a scaffold from seven to eight feet high, which is used instead of a grave, and on it the body is placed. If he is to be buried in the ground, they dig for him a grave of only four or five feet. During all this time the family despoil themselves bringing him grain (corn, wild rice), furs or other merchandise to be placed on the scaffold or near his grave. This done, they carry there the body in the same posture he had when dying, and with the same ornaments (he wore at that time). He has his arms near him and all that had been placed at his feet before dying.

"After the funeral ceremonies are over, and the body buried they richly pay those who have buried him, giving them a kettle or some strings of beads for their trouble.

"All the people of the village are obliged to assist at the funeral. The whole being concluded, a certain man presents himself amongst them holding in his hand a small green stick of the thickness of a thumb and about four fingers in length. This he throws into the midst of the crowd. The great point now is to catch the green stick; if it falls on the ground, every one scrambles for it and tries to pick it up, pushing and pulling one another with so great violence that in less than half an hour it has passed through the hands of all those present. If finally some one of the crowd has managed to possess himself of it and shows it without it being taken from him, he sells it at a fixed price to the first person who wants to buy it. The price will often be a kettle, gun or blanket. The guests are then told to meet again for a similar ceremony, the day being appointed; this is done several times, as I have said.

"After this game, a proclamation is made that there will be another prize for the best runner among the young men. The race course is indicated from the place whence they are to start until the spot where it is said they are to arrive. All the young men dress and form a long line in an open field. At the first shout of the man appointed for that office, they start to run for some distance from the village and the first one who arrives at the other end bears off the prize.

"Some days afterwards the parents of the deceased get up a feast consisting of meat, corn and wild rice, to which all

those of the village are invited who are not their relatives and who descend from families different from theirs (*i. e.* not having the same totemic mark). Those also are invited, and that especially, who have made presents to the deceased. They invite to it strangers from other villages, if any such happen to be present, and they inform their guests that it is the deceased who gives them this feast. Should the feast consist of meat, they will take a piece and this has to be carried to the grave and placed on it; they do the same with other kinds of food. Women, girls and children are allowed to eat these things (placed on the grave) but not grown up men, for they are to look upon this as unworthy of them. At this feast every one is at liberty to eat what he likes and to take the rest home. They make considerable presents in merchandise to all those strangers who previously have done the same to the deceased, but those of their own tribe receive nothing. They are then thanked for having remembered the deceased and congratulated on their charitableness."

The Manner in which Indians Conduct the Grand Feast of the Dead.[1]

"When Indians intend to have a feast in honor of their dead they carefully make the necessary arrangements beforehand. Returning home from their traffic with the Europeans they bring along with them such articles as are suitable for this purpose and at home provide themselves with meat, grain, furs and other things. At their return from the chase the whole village meets to solemnize this feast. When once they had decided to celebrate the feast of the dead, they send deputies of their people to all the neighboring villages near by (and far away) some of them more than a hundred leagues distant, to invite them to assist at the coming feast, telling them the time fixed for said celebration. A great many people of the so invited villages start then, each canoe holding several persons; they make a small collection of goods among themselves in order to make thereof a present in common to the village which has invited them. Those who have invited them prepare for their coming a large cabin,

1 "Memoire," p. 37-40.

very strong and well covered, in order to receive and lodge all those whom they are expecting."

"As soon as all have arrived, the different tribes stand, separated one from the other, in the center of the large cabin. Being thus assembled, they make their presents and give away what they have, saying, that they have just been invited to render homage to the remains of the dead of the village and to their memory. Immediately they begin to dance to the sound of a drum and of a gourd, in which are small holes which constantly give out the same tune. They dance from one end of the cabin to the other, one behind the other in single file, moving around the three fir or other trees planted there. While the dancing is going on, some are busy in the kitchen cooking. Dogs are killed and boiled with other meats, all of which have been diligently prepared. When all is ready, the guests are made to rest a while, and the dance being now stopped, the repast is served up.

"I have forgotten to remark that as soon as the dance stops, the presents which the guests have made and all their effects are removed. Their hosts give them other presents of greater value in exchange. In case they have lately returned from trafficking with Europeans, the presents they give will consist of shirts, head-gear, stockings, new blankets, or some paints and vermilion, though the guests have brought but old articles, perhaps green hides, furs of beaver, of wild cats, bears, or some other animal.

"When those invited from other villages arrive, the same is done at each new arrival (of guests) and the same reception is given to the people of each village. When all are assembled they get them to dance three days in succession, during which one of those who called them to the feast invites twenty persons, more or less, to a feast at his place, and then a certain number are chosen from each tribe and detached from the rest of the tribe, who keep on dancing. But instead of serving them with victuals at this feast, they give them presents, such as kettles, hatchets, and other articles; nothing, however, to eat. These presents then become the common property of the tribe; should they consist in articles of food, they may eat them at once, which they do very readily, for they are never wanting in appetite. Another will do the same in regard to the other dancers; they will be invited to come to his lodge (to receive presents). Thus they

treat their guests till all of the village have given in their turn such kind of donation feasts. During the three days that the dance lasts they squander all they have in the line of merchandise or other goods and reduce themselves to extreme poverty, and that to such an extent that they do not keep for themselves even a hatchet or knife. Oftentimes all they keep is but an old kettle for their use. Their intention in making these donations is to render the souls of the departed more happy and honored in the land of the dead, for they believe that they are under a strict obligation to comply with all that is observed at funeral obsequies, and that only such kinds of donations can give repose to the departed. It is customary with them to give all they have without reserve at funeral ceremonies and other superstitious performances. Some of those who have imbibed the milk of religion (become Christians) have not entirely abandoned these kind of customs, and with the body they bury all that belonged to the deceased during life. Such feasts of the dead were formerly celebrated every year, each tribe in its turn giving such a feast, they mutually invited then one another to the feast. Since some years, however, these things are no longer practiced among some of them, as the French, who have much intercourse with them, made them understand that this useless squandering of their goods ruined their families and reduced them to such straits as not to have even the necessaries of life.

Pagan notions in regard to the Immortality of the Soul and of the place where the Dead are said to reside forever.[1]

"All pagan Indians believe in the immortality of the soul. They maintain that the soul, after leaving the body, goes to a beautiful prairie country where there is neither heat nor cold and where the atmosphere is agreeably temperate. They say that country is full of animals and birds of all kinds and varieties. Hunters there never find themselves exposed to hunger, as they can slay and eat whatever animal they like. They assure us that this beautiful country is very far away

1 "Memoire," pp. 40–43.

on the other side of the earth. Hence they place provisions and arms on the graves of the dead, for they believe that the departed will find in the other world for their use all that has been given them in this, especially on the voyage they have to make.

"They believe, moreover, that as soon as the soul has left the body it enters this charming country, and, having traveled several days, it meets on its way[2] a rapid river, over which there is but a small stick to cross over. When walking over this thin stick it bends so much that the soul is in danger of falling into the water and being carried away by the current. They maintain that, should this accident unhappily occur, it would get drowned, and that all these dangers are at an end when once she has entered the land of the dead. They also believe that the souls of young people of both sexes have nothing to fear as they are vigorous and strong. But it is not the same with those of the old and of children, when not assisted at this dangerous passage by other souls; this is oftentimes the reason why they perish.

"They also say that this same river is full of fish beyond imagination. Sturgeon and other fish abound there, which they kill with their hatchets and clubs in order to roast them on their voyage, for after leaving the river they no longer meet with game. After having traveled for quite a long time they come to a very steep mountain, which obstructs their passage and obliges them to seek another elsewhere. However they find none, and, after having suffered a great deal, they come at last to that terrible passage where two pestles of prodigious size, rising and falling by turns, form a great difficulty which it is hard to surmount, for should the soul be unhappily caught beneath, that is, when one of the pestles is just falling, it would surely be killed; but the disembodied spirit watches most carefully for the lucky moment (when one of the pestles goes up) to slip through this so dangerous place. Yet many get caught and perish, especially the souls of old people and children, as they are less strong and vigorous and rather slow when trying to get through.

2 The road to the "Happy hunting grounds of the dead" is called Ke-wa-kun-ah, "Homeward road"; also Che-ba-kun-ah, "Ghost road." The soul travels till she comes to a deep, rapid stream, over which lies the much dreaded Ko-go-gaup-o-gun, or rolling and sinking bridge; once safely over this, as the traveler looks back it assumes the shape of a huge serpent swimming, twisting and untwisting its folds across the stream.

"Once through this dangerous passage they enter a charming country where excellent fruits are found in abundance. The ground is covered with all kinds of flowers, the odor of which is so wonderful that it enchants the heart and charms the imagination. There is now but a short distance to make so as to arrive at the place where the noise of the drum and gourd, keeping time to the songs and shouts of the dead at their entertainment (dance), makes itself agreeably heard. This stimulates them to run most eagerly directly towards the place whence the sound of the happy multitude proceeds. The nearer they come the louder the noise becomes, and the delight and joy, to which the dancers give expression by continual shouts, ravish the new comers more and more. When they are near the place where the dancing is going on, a certain number of the dead leave their follow-dancers and go to welcome them and manifest the great pleasure their arrival causes to the whole company. They are then conducted to the place where the dancing is going on, where they are kindly received by all those present. They find there meats of all tastes and without number. Nothing more exquisite or better prepared can be imagined. They can eat whatever they like and pleases their appetite. When they get through they mingle with the rest to dance and enjoy themselves forever, without being any longer subject to grief, inquietude, infirmities, or any of the vicissitudes of mortal life.

"This is the belief of the Indians in regard to the immortality of the soul. It is a dream, a chimera of the most ridiculous things that can be invented, but they cling to this belief with so great obstinacy, that, when a person wants to convince them of its ridiculous absurdity, they tell the European who speaks to them about these things, that we have a particular country for our dead (and they another for theirs). Having been created by spirits who lived in harmony with one another and who were mutual friends, they (*i. e.* the spirits or manitous that created the pale-faces) had chosen in the other world a different country from theirs (that is, of the departed Indians, each race having a heaven for itself). They say that it is an indubitable truth, and one they have learned from their ancestors, that they once went to war into a country so far away that they came at last to the extreme end of the earth. They then passed the place where the large pestles keep going up and down, as I have described

above, at the entrance of the beautiful land of the dead. Having passed through, they heard at a little distance the beating of the drum and the sound of the gourds and, curiosity having impelled them to go on a little further to see what was going on, they were discovered by the dead, who then came towards them. They tried to flee, but were soon overtaken and conducted to the cabins of these inhabitants of the other world, where they were well received. The dead then escorted them as far as the passage of the pestles, which they stopped so as to enable them to pass through without danger (into the land of the living). Taking leave of them they told their living countrymen never to come back there again till after death, for fear some misfortune might happen to them."

Ottawas.

De la Motte Cadillac, in 1695 commander at Mackinaw, wrote that the Ottawas were divided into four bands: 1, the Kiskakons, or Queues Coupées; 2, the Sable, because their old residence was on a sandy point; 3, the Sinago, or Outaoua-Sinageaux; and 4, the Nassawaketon, or People of the Fork, because they had resided on a river which had three forks or branches, perhaps the Chippewa River of Wisconsin. Nassawaketon was the Algonquin word for a river which forked (Minn. Hist. Coll., vol. V, p. 405). Lac Courte Oreille, which empties by Courte Oreille river into the Chippewa, is called to this day by the Indians "Ottawa-Sagaigan," *Ottawa Lake*, as there is a tradition that Ottawas used to reside on the shores of said lake. The Relation of 1667 says that their ancient dwelling place was near Lake Huron. They used to go by way of Ottawa River to Montreal and Quebec, and thus the river they traveled on was called after them. At Father Menard's time, 1660, a large body of Ottawas resided at Keweenaw Bay. Another portion had fled with a band of Tionnontate Hurons to the Mississippi, and had settled on an island near the entrance of Lake Pepin. Driven away by the Sioux, whom they had foolishly attacked conjointly with the Hurons, they ascended Black River, Wis., at the headwaters of which the Hurons built a

fort, while the Ottawas pushed on to Lake Superior, and settled on the shores of Chequamegon Bay, between the mouth of Fish Creek and Ashland. In 1670–71 they went to live on Manitouline Island, their ancient abode, where the Fathers established among them the flourishing mission of St. Simon. At present they reside in Michigan, at Grand and Little Traverse, Harbor Springs, and elsewhere. Their language strongly resembles the Chippewa. In 1668–69 Father Allouez succeeded in converting the Kiskakon band of Ottawas at Chequamegon Bay, but the Sinagoes and Keinouche's (from kinoje or kinosha, a pike) remained deaf to the voice of the zealous Father, though many subsequently embraced Christianity at Green Bay and Mackinaw. Father Baraga labored among them at Arbre Croche (Harbor Springs) and Grand River, baptizing seven hundred or more. At present their spiritual wants are attended to by the Franciscan Fathers residing at Harbor Springs.

Pottawatamies.

The Pottawatami lived on the peninsula formed by Green Bay on the west and Lake Michigan on the east. They and the Winnebagoes had a village about 24 miles above the spot where the city of Green Bay now stands, near Little Sturgeon Bay. In 1641 they were at Sault Ste. Marie, fleeing before the face of the Sioux. In 1665 we meet with them at Chequamegon Bay, where Father Allouez found them to the number of three hundred men, bearing arms. In 1668 they resided on the Pottawatami Islands, in Green Bay. They were very docile and friendly disposed to Christianity, besides being more humane and civilized than other Indian tribes. Wm. W. Warren says their name signifies, "Those who make or keep the fire," from bodawe or potawe, to make a fire, from the fact of their taking with them or perpetuating the national fire, which, according to tradition, was sacredly kept alive in their more primitive days.

A Pottawatami band settled about the year 1721 on the St. Joseph's River, and another near Detroit. In 1830 V. Rev. Frederic Resé, then Vicar-General of Cincinnati, afterwards first bishop of Detroit, visited the Pottawatamies on St.

Joseph's river. He was received with the greatest joy by the poor Indians, and baptized Pokegan, a Pottawatami chief, and twelve others. However, the Father was soon obliged to leave to attend other missions. Pokegan was inconsolable. He repaired to Detroit on the 1st of July, 1830. "Father! Father!" he exclaimed, "I come to beg you to give us a Black-gown to teach us the word of God. We are ready to give up whiskey and all our barbarous customs. Thou dost not send us a Black-gown, and thou hast often promised us one. What! must we live and die in our ignorance? If thou hast no pity on us men, take pity on our poor children, who will live as we have lived in ignorance and vice. We are left deaf and blind, steeped in ignorance, although we earnestly desire to be instructed in the faith. Father, draw us from the fire—the fire of the wicked manitou. An American minister wished to draw us to his religion, but neither I nor any of the village would send our children to his school, nor go to his meetings. We have preserved the way of prayer taught our ancestors by the Black-gown who used to be at St. Joseph. Every night and morning my wife and children pray together before a crucifix which thou hast given us, and on Sundays we pray oftener. Two days before Sunday we fast till evening, men, women and children, according to the tradition of our fathers and mothers, as we have never seen a Black-gown at St. Joseph."[1]

Father Stephen Badin was sent them in August, 1830, and by January he had three hundred Christians, all of whom confessed regularly, besides a hundred children and adults baptized. In a few years there were from 1000 to 1200 fervent Christians. In September, 1838, the United States troops surrounded the Pottawatamies, and as prisoners of war, compelled them to remove. They were deported to the banks of the Osage River, where Father Petit, their pastor, confided them to the care of Father J. Hoecken, S. J. On the sale of their lands, the United States government allotted the Pottawatamies 5,000,000 acres on the Missouri, near Council Bluffs.

1 Shea, "Catholic Missions," p. 394.

Sacs.

The country of the Sacs was between Lake Huron and Erie. They resided for a long time in Michigan, near Saginaw Bay, on the Saginaw and Tittibewasse Rivers. After many bloody wars with their neighbors, in which they were well nigh annihilated, they were driven from that State and settled in Wisconsin, where they became allies of the Outagamies or Foxes. Father Allouez found some Sacs at Chequamegon Bay, and afterwards, in 1669, at Green Bay and up the Fox River, where they had a village, some twelve miles up that river. They were a very warlike and barbarous race, without fixed dwelling-places, roaming about through the woods. On the 4th of June, 1763, the Sacs and Chippewas, by stratagem, took Fort Mackinaw and killed almost all the British soldiers of the garrison. Their last great tribal effort was made conjointly with the Foxes, in the Black Hawk war of 1832. Black Hawk was defeated on the Wisconsin by General Dodge, and on the 2d of August, 1832, Gen. Atkinson overtook the broken fragments of his army, and attacked them on the bottoms of the Mississippi, a few miles below the mouth of Bad Ax River, about forty-five miles above Prairie du Chien, and totally defeated and scattered them.

Outagamies or Foxes.

The Foxes, called by the French, "Renards," and the Chippewas, "Oudagamig," call themselves "Moskwakig," from *mosk* (Chipp. misk) red and *aki*, land, *i. e.* "People of the red land." Father Allouez found some of them on the shores of Chequamegon Bay, where they came to fish and trade. They resided along the Fox and Wolf rivers and had a large village near New London and another at Mukwa or a little below there (the latter perhaps a corruption of Muskwaki, their Indian name), on the Wolf River, Wisconsin, where Father Allouez visited them in April, 1670, and started the mission of St. Mark. He converted several of the tribe, though subsequently the mission was abandoned on account of the hostile attitude of the Foxes towards the French. They are the only Algonquin tribe on whom the French made war.

The Foxes and Chippewas were enemies from time immemorial and many a bloody battle was fought between them. An Indian tradition relates that a large band of Foxes stealthily landed about two centuries ago or more on the southeastern extremity of Madeline (La Pointe) Island and captured four Chippewa women. Elated with their success they hastily embarked in their small canoes, and when they thought themselves safe from pursuit they raised a defiant shout, which was heard by the Chippewas, who jumped into their canoes. A thick fog covering the lake, neither party could see the other; but the Chippewas were guided by the noise of the songs and shouts of their enemies. They overtook the Foxes near Montreal River and a naval battle ensued in which the Chippewas totally defeated and annihilated the Foxes. Their last great battle with the Foxes was at St. Croix Falls, where under their great war-chief, Wau-boo-jeeg, they defeated the combined forces of the Foxes and Sioux, reducing the former to fifteen lodges, who were then incorporated with the Sacs. This battle occurred about 1780. Wau-boo-jeeg, the Chippewa leader in that war, lived on the projection of land near Pike's Bay, above Bayfield, and died in 1793.

When the French became acquainted with the Chippewas, whose home was the Sault (whence they were called by the French Saulteur or Sauteurs, now Sauteux), they formed alliance and friendship with them and supplied them with fire-arms, which enabled them eventually to drive the Foxes out of northern Wisconsin and the Sioux beyond the headwaters of the Mississippi.

The Illinois.

Of all the Algonquin tribes of the northwest the Illinois were the most docile and susceptible of Christianity. Both Fathers, Allouez and Marquette, speak most highly of them. Father Allouez found a considerable number of them on the Upper Fox River, some nine miles from where Portage City now stands. He also met with a small band of them on Chequamegon Bay, where they told him such wonderful things about their beautiful prairie country, that he burned

with desire to visit them, the more so as they evinced such uncommon inclination to embrace the faith. He visited them in 1670 at the Maskouten village near Portage City and was received by them with great joy. They immediately prepared a feast. A venerable old man then addressed him in the following words: "How good it is, Black-gown, that thou hast come to visit us. Have pity on us; thou art a manitou (a god), we offer thee to smoke. The Nadouessious (pron. Nah-doo-wes-see-oo, Sioux) and the Iroquois are eating us; have compassion on us. We are often sick, our children die, we suffer hunger. Hear me, Manitou, I offer thee to smoke; may the earth yield us corn and the rivers fish; may sickness not kill us and famine not be so hard on us." At each invocation the old men present answered with a loud "O ! O !" the same as "Amen." Father Allouez was horrified at thus receiving divine honors from these poor ignorant but well-meaning people. He preached to them most fervently, telling them that he was not the Manitou, the master of their lives, but that he obeyed Him and carried His word all over the land. Father Marquette passed by this mission in June, 1673, when on his way to discover and explore the Mississippi. He stayed there from the 7th till the 10th of June, and was much pleased to see in the midst of the village a large cross, to which were attached quivers with arrows and other Indian presents, in thanksgiving to God for having prospered their last winter's chase. At the mouth of Des Moines River the same Father found a large settlement of Peorias, another branch of the Illinois tribe, where he was received with the greatest joy and respect. In 1675 he founded the mission of the Immaculate Conception among the Kaskaskias, another Illinois trifle, on the Illinois River, *where he offered up the holy Mass* on Holy Thursday and Easter Sunday,[1] and preached the faith of Jesus Christ to an immense concourse of people. The Illinois were for a time under the care of two Recollect Fathers of the Order of St. Francis, namely, Gabriel de la Ribourde and Zenobius Membré. On September the 9th, 1680, Father Gabriel was ruthlessly murdered by some Kickapoo Indians. Father Sebastian Râle, who was afterwards killed in his Abnaki Mission in the State of Maine by an English and Indian war-party, and Father Gravier labored

1 The first holy Mass offered up on Illinois soil was *most probably* said by Father Marquette about the 20th of June, 1673, on his voyage of discovery.

in Illinois. Father Marest was stationed at Kaskaskia 1700–1712, laboring with great fruit. Many other apostolic men worked successfully for the conversion of the various tribes in Illinois.

Chippewas, La Pointe.

The Outchibouec, called also Otchipweg, Ojibways and Chippewas, are a numerous tribe, inhabiting both the north and south shores of Lake Superior, British America, Michigan, Wisconsin and eastern Minnesota. They are often called Saulteurs, Sauteurs, and Sauteux, from the Sault, their original home. They heard the first tidings of Christianity from Fathers Jogues and Raymbaut, in 1642, at Sault Ste. Marie, at the great Indian feast of the dead. According to their traditions they came to La Pointe Island about four centuries ago, circa 1492. They had a large flourishing town on the southeast end of the island, where they had cleared a large tract of land and raised a great deal of corn and pumpkins. In the early part of the seventeenth century, about the year 1612, they suddenly abandoned their island through a superstitious fear that it was haunted by ghosts. Many of them went back to the Sault (pron. Soo); others settled at the west end of Lake Superior, where Father Allouez found them, between 1665–67, probably near Superior City. After the various tribes, whom the fear of the Iroquois had driven to Chequamegon Bay and the Apostle Islands, had left in 1670-71, the Chippewas of the south shore gradually returned and settled on the mainland, where Bayfield now stands, also at Pike's Bay and along the shore of Chequamegon Bay. Many also resided at Chequamegon Point, Odanah, at the head of the bay and near Michael Dufault's place. At an early date, probably already in 1695, the French built a fort on La Pointe Island. The location of the old French fort is involved in obscurity. Hon. Wm. W. Warren claims that is was built at Middlefort, near the old Indian cemetery. Tradition—the name, "Old Fort"—seems to point to the southeastern end of the island as the site somewhere near the place where Michael Cadotte built his trading post and fort in 1782. For many years the American Fur Company had a flourishing

trading post on the island, and La Pointe was then one of the largest towns of Wisconsin. It is now but a historic relic, a most beautiful place for a summer resort, a place intended by nature for quiet enjoyment, rest, meditation and prayer. We hope it will never be transformed into a modern town with its noise, dirt, manure-piles, stinking oyster-cans and empty beer-kegs in the gutters.

Here two treaties were made with the Chippewa Indians, one in 1842 and the last in 1854, by which they ceded all their remaining lands in Wisconsin, and also large tracts in Minnesota and Michigan, to the United States for a consideration, perhaps not the one-thousandth part of their actual value. To give some idea of the wretched condition of the poor Indians, which made them, so to say, give away for trifling annuities, large tracts of the most valuable agricultural, pine and mineral lands, the value of which they never knew or realized, but which was well comprehended by the grasping "Kitchi Mokoman"—"Big Knife," *American*, we append here the concluding remarks of two of their Chiefs, Esh-ke-bug-e-coshe and Nay-naw-ong-gay-bee.

At a treaty made at the Mississippi, in 1855, the Chief Esh-ke-bug-e-coshe, "Wide Mouth," made the following remarks in answer to the refusal of the government agents to accept a proposition of the chiefs, to sell their lands at a price double that offered them by the agent. He said[1]: "My father, I live away north on the headwaters of the Mississippi; my children (band) are poor and destitute, and, as it were, almost naked, while you, my father, are rich and well clothed. When I left my home to come to this treaty to sell my lands—*for we know that we must sell for what we can get—the whites must have them*—my braves, young men, women and children, held a council and begged of me to do the best I could in selling their homes; and now, my father, I beg of you to accept of the proposition I have made you, and to-morrow I will start for home; and then you count the days which you know it will take me to reach there, and on the day of my arrival look north, and as you see the northern lights stream up in the sky, imagine to yourself that it is the congratulation of joy of my children ascending to God, that you have accepted of the proposition I have offered you."

1 Wis. Hist. Coll. vol. II, pp. 343-344.

At the treaty made in La Pointe, in 1854, Nay-naw-ong-gay-bee, the "Dressing Bird," one of the head chiefs of the Courte Oreille band of Chippewas, made a speech expatiating on the destitute condition of his people, who were abjectly poor, many of the children being perfectly naked. We will only insert his concluding remarks: "My father, look around you, upon the faces of my poor people; sickness and hunger, whiskey and war are killing us fast. We are dying and fading away; we drop to the ground like the trees before the ax of the white man; we are weak, you are strong. We are but foolish Indians—you have wisdom and knowledge in your head; we want your help and protection. We have no homes, no cattle, no lands, *and we will not need them long.* A few short winters, my people will be no more. The winds shall soon moan around the last lodge of your red children. I grieve, but cannot turn our fate away. The sun, the moon, the rivers, the forests, we love so well, we must leave. We shall soon sleep in the ground—we will not awake again. I have no more to say to you, my father." We doubt whether anything more simple, touching and sad, was ever uttered by a white speaker.

Crees and Sauteux of British America; their customs, language and superstitions.

The Crees have always been intimately united with the Chippewas; their languages are very much alike, and they have the same usages and superstitions. They inhabit a large part of British America, especially on both sides of the Saskadjiwan. Father Belcourt,[1] a zealous missionary of British America, who spent a great portion of his life among the Indians of that country and knew their language and customs well, speaking of the Crees and Sauteux (Chippewas of that region), says:

"Their principal religious meeting takes place every spring, about the time when all the plants begin to awaken from their long winter sleep, and renew their life and commence to bud. The ticket of invitation is a piece of tobacco

1 Father G. A. Belcourt, in Annals of Minn. Hist. Soc. for 1853, vol. IV.

sent by the oldest person of the nation, indicating the place of rendezvous to the principal persons of the tribe. This is a national feast in which every individual is interested, it being the feast of medicines. Each head of a family is the physician of his children, but he cannot become so without having received a preliminary instruction and initiation into the secrets of medicine. It is at this feast that each one is received. All the ceremonies which they perform are emblematical and signify the virtues of plants in the cure of various maladies of man.

"Another superstition, proper to cure evils which have place more in the imagination than in the body, is the *Nibikiwin*. It consists in drawing out the evil directly, in drawing the breath and spitting in the eyes of the sick person. The pretended cause of suffering is sometimes a stone, a fruit, the point of an arrow, or even a medicine wrapped up in cotton. One cannot conceive how much these poor people submit with blind faith to these absurdities.

"Lastly, curiosity and the desire of knowing the future, has invented the *Tchissakiwin*. It consists of certain formalities, songs, invocation of spirits, and bodily agitations, which are so energetic that you are carried back to the times of the ancient Sybils; they seem to say to you, *Deus, ecce Deus*, and then submitting to the questions of the spectators, they always have a reply, whether it be to tell what passes at a distance, or reveal the place where objects which have been lost may be found. As the skill of the prophet consists in replying in ambiguous terms upon all subjects of which he has not been able to procure information in advance, he is always sure of success, either more or less striking.

"Dreams are for the Sauteux revelations; and the bird, animal, or even a stone, or whatever it may be, which is the principal subject of the dream, becomes a tutelary spirit, for which the dreamer has a particular veneration. As dreams are more apt to visit a sick person, when the brain is more subject to these abberations, many such have a number of dreams, and consequently many tutelary spirits. They keep images and statues in their medicine-bags, and never lose sight of them, but carry them about wherever they go. The faith of the Sauteux in their medicine is such that they be-

lieve a disease can be thrown into an absent person, or that certain medicines can master the mental inclinations, such as love or hatred. Thus it is the interest of these old men to pander to the young.

"Their writings are composed of arbitrary hieroglyphics, and the best writer is he who is most skillful in using such signs as most fully represent his thoughts. Though this manner of writing is very defective, it is nevertheless ingenious and very useful, and has this advantage over all other languages, since it depicts the thoughts and not the word, just as figures represent numbers in all languages.

"Though the Sauteux have no idea of the state they shall find themselves in after death, they believe in the existence of a future life. They have very strange ideas on this subject; in consequence of some of these, they place near the deceased his arms and the articles most necessary to life. Some have even gone so far as to have their best horse killed at their death, in order, as they said, to use him in traveling to the country of the dead. It is the general belief that the spirit returns to visit the grave very often, so long as the body is not reduced to dust. During this space of time, it is held a sacred duty, on the part of the relatives of the deceased, to make sacrifices and offerings, and celebrate festivals before the tomb. In the time of fruits, they carry them in great abundance to the tomb, and he who nourishes himself with them after they have been deposited there, causes great joy to the parents and relations of the deceased.

"The Sauteux have also some knowledge of astronomy; they have names for the most remarkable constellations; they have names also for the lunar months; but their calculations, as can be conceived, are very imperfect, and they often find themselves in great embarrassment, and have recourse to us to solve their difficulties. The electric fluid manifested in thunder, the rays of light of the Aurora Borealis are, in their imagination, animated beings; the thunders, according to them, are supernatural beings, and the rays of the Aurora Borealis are the dead who dance.

"Their idea of the creation of the world goes no further back than the deluge, of which they have still a tradition, the narration of which would fill volumes. . . . . I will tell the part which relates to the creation. 'An immortal genius (demi-god), seeing the water which covered the earth, and

finding nowhere a resting place for his foot, ordered a beaver, an otter, and other amphibious animals, to plunge by turns into the water and bring up a little earth to the surface. They were all drowned. A (musk) rat, however, succeeded in reaching the bottom, and took some earth in his paws, but he died before he got back; yet his body rose to the surface of the water. The genius, Nenabojou (Ma-nah-bo-sho), seeing that he had found earth, brought him to life, and employed him to continue the work. When there was a sufficient quantity of earth, he made a man, whom he animated with his breath.' This genius is not the Great Spirit (Kitchi Manitou), of whom they never speak, except with respect; while Nenabojou is considered a buffoon of no gravity.

"The Sauteux have a great passion for gambling. They pass whole days and nights in play, staking all they have, even their guns and traps, and sometimes their horses; they have staked even their wives upon the play.

"Their love of intoxicating liquors is, as among all other savage tribes, invincible. A Sauteux, who was convinced of religion, wished to become a Christian; but he could not be admitted without renouncing indulgence in drinking to excess. He complained bitterly that the Hudson Bay Company had reduced his people to such a pitiable state by bringing rum into the country, of which they would never have thought if they had not tasted it.

"The Sauteux are one of the most warlike of nations. From time immemorial, they have had the advantage over their numerous enemies, and pushed them to the North. They treat the vanquished with most horrible barbarity. It is then that they are çannibals; for, though we see sometimes among them cases of anthropophagy (cannibalism), they have such a horror of it, that he, who has committed this act, is no longer sure of his life. They hold it a sacred duty to put him to death on the first favorable occasion. But during war they make a glory of cannibalism. The feast of victory is very often composed of human flesh. One sees a trait of this barbarity in the names they give to their principal enemies, as for instance the Sioux, whom they call "Bwanak." As I remarked before, it is not rare that they add to or retrench a little their proper names, which renders their interpretation rather difficult for strangers. In the word that I have mentioned, *bwan* is put for *abwan*,

which signifies a piece of flesh put on the spit. Thus the word *Abwanak*, which they have shortened by calling Bwanak, signifies those whom one roasts on a spit. In their great war-parties, after the victory, the Sauteux build a great fire, then plant all around spits laden with the thighs, heads, hearts, etc., of their enemies, after which they return home."

What Father Belcourt says of the Sauteux and Crees of British America, can be applied in a great measure to the other Indian tribes that resided in the St. Lawrence valley and in the country of the "Great Lakes." More than one Catholic missionary and many a poor Frenchman has been burnt to death at the stake, and their bodies devoured by the Iroquois of New York. Perrot tells how four Sioux were made soup of by the Ottawas in their village on Chequamegon Bay in the winter of 1670–71. The Chippewas of the South Shore are more civilized than those of the North, and never indulge in the horrible practice of cannibalism, which they abhor and detest as much as the whites.

Sioux, called Bwanag—Meaning of the word.

The "Bwalag" of the "Relations" are the same people whom the Chippewas still call "Bwanag," *i. e.* Sioux. The "Relation" of 1660, p. 13, says that the word Bwalag or Bwanag means warriors. It is uncertain whether the word Bwanag is Chippewa or derived from some other Algonquin dialect. Wm. W. Warren, a Chippewa half-breed well educated, says the word is Chippewa, and is an abbreviation of *Abwanag*, meaning "Roasters," from "*nind abwe*," I roast, *abwan*, a roast. The Ottawas call the Sioux "Nadowessi," *i. e.* "Little Adder," the diminutive of "nadowe" an adder, which name they give to the Iroquois, their fearful enemies of old in the east, which appellation significantly expresses the sneaking, treacherous, serpentine, and cruel disposition of the Iroquois tribe.

The Sioux call themselves Dakotas; Nicolas Perrot in his "Memoire" calls them Sioux, an abbreviation of Nadoues*sioux*; Father Allouez calls them Nadouessiouek, and Marquette, Nadouessi (Nah-doo-wes-see). They are described in the "Relations" as a very powerful and warlike tribe, living some 40–50 leagues west of La Pointe du Saint Esprit. Father

Allouez first met with them at the west end of Lake Superior, near Duluth or Superior. In 1671 they drove the Ottawas and the Hurons from the shores of Chequamegon Bay. They were almost continually at war with the Chippewas, by whom they were gradually driven out of Wisconsin and eastern Minnesota, beyond the Mississippi, and the latter occupied their fine hunting grounds near Red Lake, Leech Lake and vicinity, Minnesota. In 1862 the Sioux massacred about 700 whites, most of them industrious, inoffensive Germans. In 1876, led by Sitting Bull, they completely annihilated General Custer's forces. They have been removed to Dakota, where missionaries are laboring at Christianizing them.

Mode of life among the Sioux.

We insert the following lines taken from an article of Edward D. Neill, in "Annals of the Minn. Hist. Soc. for 1853, Number IV":

"The heathen in their manner of life are essentially the same all over the world. They are all given to uncleanness. As you walk through a small village, in a Christian land, you notice many appearances of thrift and neatness. The day-laborer has his lot fenced and his rude cabin whitewashed. The widow, dependent upon her own exertion and alone in the world, finds pleasure in training the honeysuckle or the morning-glory to peep in at her windows. The poor seamstress, though obliged to lodge in some upper room, has a few flower-pots upon her window-sill, and perhaps a canary bird in a cage hanging outside. But in an Indian village all is filth and litter. There are no fences around their bark huts; whitewashing is a lost art, if it was ever known among them; worn out moccasins, tattered blankets, old breech-cloths, and pieces of leggins are strewn in confusion all over the ground. Water, except in very warm weather, seldom touches their bodies, and the pores of their skin become filled with grease and the paint with which they daub themselves. Neither Monday or any other day is known as washing-day. Their cooking utensils are encrusted with dirt and used for a variety of purposes. A year or two ago a band of Indians, with their

dogs, ponies, women and children, came on board of a steamboat on the Upper Mississippi on which the writer was traveling. Their evening meal, consisting of beans and wild meat, was prepared on the lower deck, beneath the windows of the ladies' cabin. After they had used their fingers in the place of forks and consumed the food which they had cooked in a dirty iron pan, one of the mothers, removing the blanket from one of her children, stood it up in the same pan, and then dipping some water out of the river began to wash it from head to foot. The rest of the band looked on with Indian composure, and seemed to think that an iron stewpan was just as good for washing babies as for cooking beans! Where there is so much dirt, of course vermin must abound. They are not much distressed by the presence of those insects which are so nauseating to the civilized man. Being without shame, a common sight of a summer's eve is a woman or child with her head in another's lap, who is kindly killing the fleas and other vermin that are burrowing in the low, matted and uncombed hair.

"The Dakotas have no regular time for eating. Dependent as they are, upon hunting and fishing for subsistence, they vacillate from the proximity of starvation to gluttony. It is considered uncourteous to refuse an invitation to a feast, and a single man will sometimes attend six or seven in a day and eat intemperately. Before they came in contact with the whites they subsisted upon venison, buffalo and dog meat. The latter animal has always been considered a delicacy for these epicures. In illustration of these remarks I transcribe an extract from a journal of a missionary, who visited Lake Traverse in April, 1839:

"Last evening at dark our Indians returned, having eaten to the full of buffalo and dog meat. I asked one how many times they were feasted. He said, 'Six, and if it had not become dark so soon, we should have been called three or four times more!' This morning 'Burning Earth' (Chief of the Sissetonwan Dakotas) came again to our encampment, and moving, we accompanied him to his village at the southwestern end of the lake.....In the afternoon I visited the chief; found him just about to leave for a dog feast to which he had been called. When he had received some papers of medicine I had for him, he left, saying, 'The Sioux love dog meat as well as white people do pork.'"

"In this connection it should be stated, that the Dakotas (Sioux) have no regular hours for retiring.....They sleep whenever inclination prompts; some by day and some by night. If you were to enter the Dakota village, four miles below St. Paul, at midnight, you might, perhaps, see some few huddled around the fire of a tepee (as they call their wigwams), listening to the tale of an old Indian warrior, who was often engaged in bloody conflict with their ancient and present enemies, the Ojibways; or you might hear the unearthly chanting of some medicine man, endeavoring to exorcise some spirit from a sick man; or you might see some lounging about, whiffing out of their sacred red stone pipes, the smoke of kinnikinnik, a species of willow bark; or you might see some of the young men sneaking around a lodge, ...or you might hear a low, wild drumming, and then see a group of men, daubed with vermilion and other paints, all excited and engaged in some of their grotesque dances; or a portion may be firing their guns into the air, being alarmed by some imaginary evil, and supposing that some enemy is lurking about.

"Dakota females deserve the sympathy of every tender heart. From early childhood they lead "worse than a dog's life."".....On a winter's day, a Dakota mother is often obliged to travel five, eight, or ten miles, with the lodge, camp kettle, ax, child, and small dogs upon her back. Arriving late in the afternoon, at the appointed camping ground, she clears off the snow from the spot upon which she is to erect the tepee. She then, from the nearest marsh or grove, cuts down some poles, about ten feet in length. With these she forms a framework for the tent. Unstrapping her pack, she unfolds the tent cover, which is seven or eight buffalo skins stitched together, and brings the bottom part to the base of the frame. She now obtains a long pole and fastening it to the skin covering she raises it. The ends are drawn around the frame until they meet, and the edges of the covering are secured by wooden skewers or tent pins. The poles are then spread out on the ground, so as to make as large a circle inside as she desires. Then she or her children proceed to draw the skins down so as to make them fit tightly. An opening is left where the poles meet at the top, to allow the smoke to escape. The fire is built upon the ground in the centre of the lodge. Buffalo skins are placed around, and from seven

to fifteen lodge there through a winter's night, with far more comfort than a child of luxury upon a bed of down. Water is to be drawn and wood cut for the night. The camp kettle is suspended and preparations made for the evening meal. If her lord and master has not by this time arrived from the day's hunt, she is busied in mending moccasins. Such is a scene which has been enacted by hundreds of females this very winter in Minnesota.....As a consequence of this hard treatment, the females of this nation are not possessed of very happy faces, and frequently resort to suicide to put an end to earthly troubles."

Father Marquette.

Father James Marquette was born in Laon, a city of France, in 1637. At the age of seventeen he entered the Society of Jesus and was ordained early in 1666. The same year he sailed to Canada, where he landed on the 20th of September. On the 10th of October he started for Three Rivers to learn the Montaignais language, under Father Gabriel Druilletes, being destined for the northeastern mission. He remained in Three Rivers until 1668 when he was ordered to prepare for the Ottawa mission. He left Quebec April 21, 1668, with three companions to go to Montreal, to await there the Ottawa flotilla. A party of Nez-Percés came with Father Louis Nicolas, who had gone with Father Allouez to La Pointe du Saint Esprit, in 1667, and with them Marquette departed for Sault Ste. Marie, in 1668. He was the first resident priest of that mission being stationed there for about one year or a little more. He may, therefore, be called the founder of the Sault Ste. Marie mission. This mission was located at the foot of the rapids, on the American side, about nine miles below the mouth of Lake Superior.

In 1669, Father Claude Dablon came to Sault Ste. Marie, as Superior of the upper missions. Father Marquette was sent to La Pointe du Saint Esprit, where he arrived on the 13th of September, 1669. Father Allouez, his predecessor there, left the Sault on the 3d of November of the same year, and arrived at the head of Green Bay on the 2d of December, vigil of St. Francis Xavièr, Patron-Saint of the

Green Bay mission. Father Marquette was stationed at the head of Ashland Bay till 1671, when, on account of the war that had broken out, he was obliged to remove with the Huron portion of his flock to St. Ignace, Mackinaw. It was from Mackinaw that he started in the early part of 1673, on his voyage of discovery.

Father Dablon.

Father Claudius Dablon came to Canada in 1655, and was employed in the mission Onondaga till 1658. Three years later we find him and Father Gabriel Druilletes, the "Apostle of the Abnaki in Maine," who was afterwards stationed for many years at Sault Ste. Marie, attempting to reach Hudson Bay, by the Saguenay. After suffering many and great hardships on their journey through the trackless wilderness, they were arrested at the sources of the Necouba, by Iroquois war parties. The journal of their trip is given in the "Relation" of 1661. In 1669, he arrived at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, whither Father Marquette had preceded him in 1668, and he became Superior of the Algonquin missions of the Northwest. In 1670, he came to Green Bay, and with Allouez visited in September of the same year the Mission of St. James, located on the Upper Fox River, a short distance from the junction of said river with the Wisconsin. Shortly after, he returned to Quebec to assume his post as superior of all the Canada missions under the care of his Order, which office he held with intervals for many years, certainly till 1693. As the head of the missions, he contributed a great deal to their extension, and above all, to the exploration of the Mississippi, by Father Marquette. He published the Relations of 1670–71–72, with an accurate map of Lake Superior, most probably drawn by Fathers Allouez and Marquette, the two Fathers best acquainted with the topography of said lake. He prepared also the Relations from 1672 to 1679, for the press, but they were not printed and existed only in manuscript form till within a few years prior to this writing. He likewise prepared Father Marquette's Journal, describing his discovery and exploration of the Mississippi, for the press, which journal, together with many other highly valuable and interesting papers relating

to the exploration of said river has been published by the learned historian, John Gilmary Shea, in his work "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," a work we most highly recommend to all who take an interest in the early history of our western country.

GREAT MASS-MEETING AT SAULT STE. MARIE IN 1671; NAMES OF THOSE WHO SIGNED THE TREATY; PERROT'S ACCOUNT.

"The treaty was signed in the presence of Dablon,[1] Superior of the mission, and his colleagues, Dreuilletes, Allouez,[2] André of the Society of Jesus; Nicolas Perrot,[3] interpreter; Sieur Jollyet[4]; Jacques Mogras of Three Rivers; Pierre Moreau, the Sieur de la Taupine; Denis Masse; François de Chavigny, Sieur de la Chevrottiere; Jacques Lagillier, Jean Maysere, Nicholas Dupuis, François Bibaud, Jacques Joviel, Pierre Porteret,[5] Robert Duprat, Vital Driol, Guillaume Bonhomme." (Margry, vol. I, p. 97.)

Nicholas Perrot says:[6]

"The first vessels from France arrived at Quebec whilst all the (Ottawa and Iroquois) chiefs were there. M. de Courcelles received some letters from M. Talon, who wrote to him on the necessity of engaging in his service such Frenchmen as had been with the Outaouas and knew their language, so that he could go there and assume possession of their country in the name of the king. M. de Courcelles cast his eye first on me and made me wait in Quebec until the return of M. L'Intendant.

"When the latter had arrived, he asked me if I would like to go to the Outaouas, as interpreter, and conduct there his

1 Dablon and Dreuilletes were stationed at the Sault, though Dablon spent a part of the winter of 1670-71 at Mackinaw, building a rude bark chapel there.

2 Allouez and André were stationed at Green Bay, André having charge of the missionary stations at the head of said bay, while Allouez attended the inland missions.

3 Nicolas Perrot, the author of the "Memoire," held several offices under the Canadian government, was "Coureur de bois," interpreter, and kind of governor or commandant at Green Bay, between 1665-1701.

4 Jollyet accompanied Father Marquette upon his voyage of discovery and exploration down the Mississippi.

5 Pierre Porteret accompanied Father Marquette on his last journey to the Illinois in 1674, and was present at his death on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan in 1675.

6 "Memoire," pp. 126-128.

subdelegate, whom he would place there to take possession of their country. I informed him that I was always ready to obey him, and offered him my services. I left, therefore, with the Sieur de Saint Lusson, his subdelegate, and we arrived at Montreal, where we remained till the beginning of the month, October (1670). We were obliged on our way to winter with the Amikouets (Beaver Indians). The Saulteurs (Chippewas of Sault Ste. Marie) also wintered at the same place and secured more than two thousand four hundred elks on an island called the "Island of the Outaouas," which extends the length of Lake Huron, from the point opposite St. Francis River to that of the Missisakis, going towards Michillimakinak (Manitouline Island). This extraordinary chase was nevertheless only made with snares.

"I sent them word to return to their country in the spring as soon as possible, to hear the word of the king, which the Sieur Saint Lusson brought to them, and to all the tribes. I likewise sent Indians to inform those of the north to return to their country. I dragged and then carried my canoe to the other side of the island, where I embarked; for it is to be remarked that the lake (Huron) never freezes except on the side where we wintered and not towards the offing, on account of the continual winds which agitate it there. Thence we started to go to the bay of the Foxes and Miamies, which is not very far distant, and I caused all the chiefs to go to Sault Ste. Marie, where the pole was to be erected and the arms of France attached, to take possession of the Outaouac country. It was the year 1669[1] that this took place.

"On the 5th of the month of May, I went to Sault Ste. Marie with the principal chiefs of the Pouteouatamies, Sakis, Puants (Winnebagoes), Malhommis (Menominees). Those of the Foxes, Mascoutechs (Maskoutens), Kikaboos (Kickapoos) and Miamies did not pass the bay (Green Bay). Among them was a man with the name of Tetinchoua, head chief of the Miamies, who, as if he were their king, had day and night in his wigwam forty young men as a body-guard. The village over which he ruled had from four to five thousand braves; in one word, he was feared and respected by all his

1 Perrot's mistake; it was the 14th of June, 1671. The "Relation" of 1671, p. 26, gives the 4th of June, also a mistake, made probably by the copyist. Perrot probably wrote his "Memoire" many years after the treaty, hence he forgot the precise year when it was made.

neighbors. They say, however, that he was of a very mild disposition and that he conversed only with his lieutenants, or people of his council charged with his orders. The Pouteouatamies did not venture through respect for him to have him exposed to dangers or mishaps in making the voyage, fearing for him the fatigues of the canoe and that in consequence thereof he might fall sick. They represented to him that, should any accident happen to him, his people would believe themselves deserving of blame for it, and that they would take upon themselves the dangers of the voyage. He finally yielded to their reasons and requested them to do for him in the matter (under consideration) as he would do for them if he were there present. I had explained to them what the question was and why they had been called (to the treaty).

"I found at my arrival, not only the chiefs of the north, but also all the Kiristinons (Crees), Monsonis and whole villages of their neighbors; the chiefs of the Nipissings were there also, besides those of the Amikouets and all of the Saulteurs, who had their settlement in the place itself. The pole was erected in their presence and the arms of France attached to it with the consent of all the tribes, who, not knowing how to write, gave presents as their signatures, declaring in this manner that they placed themselves under the protection and obedience of the king. The Process-Verbal was drawn up in regard to this act of assuming possession, which I signed as interpreter, with the Sieur de Saint Lusson, subdelegate; the Rev. Missionary Fathers Dablon, Allouez, Dreuilletes and Marquet signed lower down, and below them the French who were trafficking in the various localities. This was done following the instructions given by M. Talon. After that, all those tribes returned each to their country and lived several years without any trouble from one side or the other.

"I forgot to say that the Hurons and Outaouas did not arrive till after the act of taking possession, for they had fled from Chagouamigon (Chequamegon) on account of having eaten some Sioux, as I have related above. They were informed of what had lately been done, and agreed, like the rest, to all that had been concluded and decided on."

Copy of the Process-Verbal of the taking possession of the Indian country.[1]

Preliminary remarks of Father J. Tailhan, S. J., publisher and annotator of Perrot's "Memoire."

"The "Relation" of 1671 (see text) and La Potherie (II, pp. 128–130) contain many details in regard to this act of taking possession omitted by Perrot, to which the reader is referred. I will merely give here the unpublished Process-Verbal of that ceremony, after the somewhat incorrect copy deposited in the archives of the marine.....The passages suppressed and replaced by dots offer no historical interest; they are but simple protocols or useless repetitions."

Process-Verbal.

"Simon François Daumont, esquire, Sieur de Saint Lusson, commissioned subdelegate of Monseigneur, the Intendant of New France.....

"In accordance with the orders we have received from Monseigneur, the Intendant of New France, the 3d of last July.....to immediately proceed to the country of the Indian Outaouais, Nez-percez, Illinois, and other nations, discovered and to be discovered, in North America, in the region of Lake Superior or Mer-Douce (Huron), to make there search and discovery of mines of all sorts, especially of copper, ordering us moreover to take possession in the name of the king of all the country, inhabited or not inhabited, through which we might pass.....We, in virtue of our commission, have made our first disembarkment at the village or burg of Sainte Marie du Sault, the place where the Rev. Jesuit Fathers make their mission, and where the Indian tribes, called Achipoès, Malamechs, Noguets, and others, make their actual abode. We have convoked there as many other tribes as it was in our power to assemble, and they met there to the number of fourteen tribes, namely the Achipoès[2], Malamechs[3], Noguets[4], Banabeoueks[5], Makomiteks[6], Poul-

1 "Memoire," pp. 202–294.

2 Chippewas; 3, Merameg, Man-um-aig, "Catfish"; 4, Noquets, No-kaig "Bear Family or Clan"; 5, Ne-baun-aub-aig (?), "Merman Clan"; 6, Makomi-

téatémis[7], Oumaloumines[8], Sassaouacottons[9], dwelling at the Bay called that of the Puants (Green Bay), and who have taken it upon themselves to make it (treaty) known to their neighbors, who are the Illinois[10], Mascouttins[11], Outagamis[12], and other nations; also the Christinos[13], Assinipouals[14], Aumossomiks[15], Outaouais-Couscottons[16], Niscaks[17], Maskwikoukiaks[18], all of them inhabiting the countries of the North and near the sea, who have charged themselves with making it known to their neighbors, who are believed to be in great numbers dwelling near the shores of the same sea. We have caused this, our said commission, to be read to them in the presence of the Rev. Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and of all the Frenchmen named below, and have had it interpreted by Nicolas Perrot, interpreter of His Majesty in this matter, in order that they may not be able (to claim) to be ignorant of it. Having then caused a cross to be erected to produce there the fruits of Christianity, and near it a cedar-pole, to which we have attached the arms of France, saying three times with a loud voice and public proclamation, that IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HIGH, MOST POWERFUL, AND MOST REDOUBTABLE MONARCH, LOUIS XIV. OF NAME, MOST CHRISTIAN KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, we take possession of said place, Sainte Marie du Sault, as also of the Lakes Huron and Superior, the Island of Caientaton (Manitouline), and of all other lands, rivers, lakes and streams contiguous to and adjacent here, as well discovered as to be discovered, which are bounded on the one side by the seas of the North and West, and on the other side by the sea of the South, in its whole length or depth, taking up at each of the said three proclamations a sod of earth, crying 'Vive le Roy!' and causing the same to be cried by the whole assembly, as well French as Indians, declaring to the said nations aforesaid and hereafter that from henceforth they were to be protegees (subjects) of His Majesty, subject to obey his laws and follow his customs, promising them all protection and succor on his part against the incursion and invasion of their enemies, declaring to all other potentates, sovereign princes,

teks (?); 7, Pottawatamies; 8, Menominees; 9, Nassawaketons, "People of the Fork"; 10, Illinois; 11, Mashkouteng, Muskatine, Muscoda, "Prairie People"; 12, Foxes; 13, Crees; 14, Assineboines, "Stony-country Sioux"; 15, Mousoneeg, "Moose"; 16, Ottawa Kiskakon (?) or Ataouabouskatouk, a Cree tribe; 17, Kiskakons (?); 18, Maskwakeeg (?), Foxes, or Mikikoueks.

as well States as Republics, to them or their subjects, that they neither can nor shall seize upon or dwell in any place of this country, unless with the good pleasure of his said most Christian Majesty, and of him who shall govern the land in his name, under penalty of incurring his hatred and the efforts of his arms. And that none may pretend ignorance of this transaction, we have now attached on the reverse side of the arms of France our Process-Verbal of the taking possession, signed by ourselves and the persons below named, who were all present.

"Done at Sainte Marie du Sault, the 14th day of June, in the year of grace 1671.

DAUMONT DE SAINT LUSSON.

(Then follow the signatures of the witnesses.)

The annotator remarks: "In conclusion I will point out a slight error of Perrot. *Father Marquette* did *not* figure among the witnesses of the act of assuming possession. At that time he was with the Hurons and Outaouacs, who did not arrive at the Sault till after the ceremony. In place, therefore, of Father Marquette, the name of Father André should be substituted in our text (Perrot's account of the treaty), whose name is read in the Process-Verbal of M. de Saint Lusson among those of the other witnesses, after the name of the subdelegate."

MENOMINEES; LABORS OF FATHER VAN DEN BROEK AMONG THAT TRIBE AT GREEN BAY, LITTLE CHUTE, AND ELSEWHERE.

The Menominees, now a populous tribe, were few in number at the time Father Allouez first appeared among them. They are an Algonquin tribe, though their language differs considerably from the Chippewa and Ottawa, two other tribes of the Algonquin family of natives. Father Allouez, although well versed in Algonquin, found it difficult to understand them. Their principal village was near the mouth of the Menominee River, which empties into Green Bay. Here Father Allouez visited them for the first time on the 8th of May, 1670, and established the mission of St. Michael. There were also two villages of that tribe on the western shore of

Green Bay, one at Chouskouabika and the other at Ossaouamigoung. In both of these villages Father André labored and made many converts. Chouskouabika, called also Chouskouanabika, was located near the site of the modern town of Pensaukee. The word means "there are many smooth, flat stones"—French, "aux galets." The name Ossaouamigoung is a corrupt form of Ossawamikong (from *ossawa* "yellow," and *amik* a beaver) and means "The place of the yellow beaver," or perhaps, "Beaver-tail." This mission was near Suamico, a corruption of the Indian name, as Pensaukee is a corrupt form of Peshaking or Pensaking (from Pejakiwan, Pensakiwan, "the land is marked, streaked"). There were also many Menominees at the mouth of Fox River. They subsequently extended their settlements along the last named river, and many resided at Little Chute prior to 1842, when they sold a large tract of land to the United States and moved to Poygan (Pawagan). At present they reside on a reservation on the Wolf River, in Shawano county, and are attended by the Franciscan Fathers residing at Keshina. As Father Van den Broek labored for many years among this tribe, a short account of his labors will not be out of place here.

Father Theodore J. Van den Broek was stationed for some time in Alkmaar, Holland, and belonged to the Dominican Order. He left his native land in 1832, and having landed at Baltimore, he proceeded via Wheeling, Cincinnati and Louisville to St. Rose, near Springfield, Washington county, Kentucky, where there was a house of his Order, with fourteen Fathers and four lay-brothers. The whole journey from Antwerp, Belgium, to St. Rose, took nine weeks. Here he prepared himself for missionary work, studying the language and customs of the country. After a short stay at St. Rose he was removed to Somerset, Perry county, Ohio, where there was another house of his Order. M. Grignon, an esteemable and worthy lady, now residing at Green Bay, used to interpret for him sometimes at Somerset.

On the 4th of July, 1834, he arrived in Green Bay, to labor in the Indian missionary field. Here he found only ten Catholic white families, although more were living at a distance in the interior of the State at Little Chute, Butte des Morts, etc. He completed the priest's house, begun by Father Mazzuchelli, and labored zealously among the whites

and Indians of his flock. The Catholic Church and priest's house were then located at Menomineeville (Shanteetown) half way between Green Bay and Depere. Scarcely a year after his arrival the towns of Navarino and Astor, now Green Bay, were built, and as the Catholics of these places formed one congregation with those of Menomineeville, we will call the mission Green Bay.

The first building in Green Bay, used as school-house and chapel, was built of logs in 1823, and was destroyed by fire in 1825, through carelessness in making fire to drive off mosquitoes. In 1831, Bishop Fenwick selected a site for a new church, which was begun by Rev. S. Mazzuchelli and finished by the Redemptorist Fathers Sänderl and Hätscher in November, 1832, at a cost of $3000. This church burned down in 1846. A subsequent church, bought of the Methodists, shared the same fate in 1871.

Father Van den Broek labored at Green Bay, sometimes alone sometimes with Father Mazzuchelli, from 1834 till the winter of 1836. It seems he left Green Bay in December of that year and came to reside at Little Chute. As the Redemptorist Fathers Sänderl and Hätscher and Prost, remained but a short time in Green Bay, the care of that mission devolved again upon Father Van den Broek for the next two years, from 1836–38. He used to have mass there every other Sunday. While yet residing in Green Bay, he often said two masses on Sundays, the first one at Green Bay (Menomineeville), and the second at Little Chute, *walking it at that*, although the distance is twenty to twenty-four miles! Once his feet bled profusedly from the pegs in his boots, whence he was obliged to stop on his way to get them extracted. Another time he lost his boots in the thick, sticky mud. Truly his was not an easy life. Besides the hardships of the road he had often to endure hunger, as his Indians were rather negligent in providing for his wants. When he first came to Little Chute, he lived for half a year in a wigwam, fifteen feet long and six feet high, which served as church, dwelling and school, for he began at once to teach his Indian neophytes to learn their A B C, so as to be soon able to read Bishop Baraga's prayer and catechetical books. Here in his wigwam he was visited by snakes, wolves, and that worst of all nuisances, starving Indian dogs, who would often steal

the poor Father's next meal, stowed away in the shape of meat or fish, in some old Indian kettle!

His mission embraced *almost* the whole State of Wisconsin, for some years. He attended Green Bay, Little Chute, Butte des Morts, Fort Winnebago, near Portage City, Fond du Lac, Prairie du Chien, Poygan, Calumet and other places, visiting the more distant missions generally in winter. Oftentimes he had to sleep, during bitter cold winter nights, in the snow, with no other roof overhead than the starry canopy of Heaven and the snow his bed. Once, when called to attend a sick person, about 240 miles distant, he got lost in the woods, his guide having got drunk at a fort, where the Father had stopped over Sunday to give the Catholic soldiers a chance to attend to their religious duties. After riding about for several hours in the dark through the woods, having lost his way, he finally tied his horse to a tree, took off the saddle and used it for a pillow on which to rest his aching head. It rained fearfully, and wolves howled about him fiercely. Next morning he said his prayers devoutly and made a vow that he would offer up a mass in thanksgiving, should he find his way out of the woods. He then mounted his horse, let the reins loose and allowed the animal to go whithersoever Divine Providence might direct it. In less than five minutes he was on the road and soon arrived at the sick person's house. Incidents like these give the reader some idea of the hardships and trials this apostolic man endured.

But Father Van den Broek was not only a missionary; he was also a civilizer of his Indian people. He worked himself most industriously and plowing his garden with hoe and spade raised the first year he came to Little Chute plenty of corn and potatoes, which, no doubt, his Indians helped him to eat up. The second year he raised sufficient breadstuffs besides vegetables, his Indians helping him with a good will to till the ground. He also trained them to handle carpenter tools, made them masons, plasterers, etc. With their help he erected a neat church, 70 ft. long with a nice little steeple, which he completed in 1839 and dedicated to St. John Nepomuc, the glorious martyr who sealed with his blood the inviolability of the seal of Confession. Between 1834–42 he converted and baptized over six hundred Indians, not to

speak of those converted between the last named year and that of his death, 1851.

But Father Van den Broek has not only a claim to the grateful remembrance of the Catholics of Wisconsin as a zealous Indian missionary, but also as an originator of Catholic colonization. On the 29th of May, 1847, he left Little Chute and crossing the broad Atlantic visited his native land, Holland. The same year he published at Amsterdam a pamphlet, describing some of the many advantages Wisconsin held out to the industrious immigrant, and induced many of his countrymen to settle in our State. Three ships with Hollanders sailed for America in 1848, in two of which were Catholic priests to attend to the spiritual wants of their countrymen, namely Fathers Godhard and Van den Broek. The latter sailed from Rotterdam, March 18th, 1848, in the "Maria Magdalena." May 7th he landed at New York, and the 9th of June arrived at Little Chute with a large number of Hollandish immigrants. These people settled at the last named place, also at Hollandtown, Green Bay, Depere, Freedom and other localities. They were soon followed by others and at present form quite a large percentage of the Catholic population of the Green Bay diocese. They are second to none in strong, practical Catholicity, zeal for their church, religion and schools, and command the respect of all classes of our people by their industry, thrift and orderly behavior. They are an honor to the country of their birth and a valuable acquisition to the land of their adoption. The tree that Father Van den Broek planted at Little Chute, in 1848, has spread its branches over a large part of northeastern Wisconsin, and offshoots of it are found in Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon and other States.

Father Van den Broek continued to labor with his customary zeal after his return to Little Chute, in 1848, until his death in that town, Nov. 5th, 1851, at the age of sixty-eight years. He was succeeded by the Fathers of the Holy Cross, who for many years continued the work of their worthy predecessor, laboring zealously among the Hollanders, French, Irish, and Indian half-breeds of Little Chute and vicinity.

Short Sketch of the Green Bay Misson.

The first white man that penetrated the wilds of Wisconsin was Jean Nicolet, an adventurous Frenchman, a zealous Catholic, and a man well versed in the Algonquin language, for which reason he was employed by the government as Indian interpreter at Three Rivers in 1636. In 1639 he pushed to the head of Green Bay, found there the Winnebagoes, or "Sea Tribe," and made a treaty of peace in the name of the French government with the Indians assembled there to the number of four or five thousand.

In 1669 Father Claude Allouez arrived there on the 2d of December, and established the mission of St. Francis Xavier, offering up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass with all possible solemnity on the following day, Dec. 3d, feast of the above-named saint. He found there some eight young Frenchmen trading with the Indians. There were about 600 Sacs, Pottawatamies, Foxes and Winnebagoes in one village, near the mouth of Fox river, besides other smaller villages up the Fox river, and on both sides of the bay. Many of these Indians had received their first knowledge of Christianity whilst residing at Chagaouamigong (Chequamegon) Bay, whither they had fled through fear of the Iroquois prior to 1665.

Father Allouez soon made converts among the poor Indians at the head of the bay, whom he describes as uncommonly barbarous, ignorant and destitute. They soon learned to attend church regularly on Sundays and to chant the "Our Father" and "Hail Mary" in their own language. The headquarters of this first mission seems to have been located a short distance below the head of the bay, on the western shore, as he says the Menominees, "whom he found at their river,"—Menominee river—were *eight leagues* from his cabin.

In 1671 the mission was removed five miles up the Fox river, and a chapel built on the site of the present town of Depere, near the river. The spot is now covered with water. In 1670 the Father founded the mission of St. Mark on the Wolf river, probably six miles above Lake Winneconne. The same year he established the mission of St. James on the Upper Fox river, about nine miles from the junction of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. He also founded in May,

1670, the St. Michael's mission among the Menominees, near the mouth of the Menominee river.

In 1670 Father Louis André was sent to Green Bay, probably towards the latter end of the year. The two Fathers divided then the various missionary stations in Wisconsin among themselves, Father André taking the missions on both shores of Green Bay and up the Fox river, whilst Father Allouez attended those more distant inland.

Father André composed religious hymns on the principal doctrines of faith and against pagan superstitions, which he taught the children to sing to the accompaniment of the flute. This enraged the pagans. During his temporary absence they burnt his house and his whole winter supply of dry fish, his nets, and all he had. Undaunted by this, Father André raised a cabin on the ruins of the old one destroyed, and renewed his attacks on pagan superstition and polygamy. As the Indians were addicted to demon-worship, they attacked the Father for his opposition to their demonolatry. "The devil," exclaimed a chief, "is the only great chief; he put Christ to death and he will kill you, too." Father André, however, labored on undauntedly, and made converts even in the wigwams of his bitterest enemies at Chouskouabika (pronounced Shoos-quah-bee-kah) and Oussouamigong (pron. Oos-swau-mee-gong).

The number of converts kept steadily increasing, and when Father Marquette passed through Green Bay in 1673, on his way to discover and explore the Mississippi, he found 2,000 baptized in the mission of St. Francis Xavier and its dependencies. Towards the end of that year Father Marquette returned to Green Bay, broken down in health through the hardships endured during his voyage down the Mississippi. He stopped with Father André till the fall of 1674. Despairing of human help, he had recourse to the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, and made with the fervent neophytes of St. Francis mission a novena in her honor, in order to obtain through the powerful intercession of the Mother of God the recovery of his health, so as to enable him to found the mission of the Immaculate Conception among the Illinois. Their prayer was heard, and towards the end of October, 1674, Father Marquette started for Illinois by way of Sturgeon Bay and Lake Michigan.

Father André labored on successfully, making converts and repressing idolatry. His house at St. Francis Xavier had been burned down by the pagans; another on the Menominee now shared the same fate. Most of the year he spent in his canoe visiting his missions along the bay and up the Fox river. In 1676 Father Charles Albanel, just returning from an English prison, became Superior of the western missions, and took up his residence at Depere, where he built a beautiful church, aided by Nicolas Perrot and other French traders.

In 1680 Father John Enjalran was stationed at Depere, but how long he labored there is not known. At any rate, the church built by Father Albanel stood yet in 1686, the date engraved on the monstrance donated by Nicolas Perrot to the church of St. Francis Xavier. Things now took an unfavorable turn. War broke out between some Wisconsin tribes, and the missionaries were in constant danger. A servant of the missionaries was pursued by the Winnebagoes, near Sturgeon Bay, and, in trying to escape, he ran through a grove of saplings. All of a sudden the hair of his whig got entangled in some branch overhead, which caused it to come off. The savages in pursuit, seeing what they supposed the brother's scalp and his bald head, halted, much astonished, to examine the whig, and this gave him a chance to escape. But unhappily he came upon another band of the same tribe, who unmercifully killed him. There is a tradition among the French pioneers of Green Bay that about the same time also a Jesuit Father was killed near Sturgeon Bay by the same Indians. The writer, however, thinks that the tradition of the Father's death does not rest on a very reliable foundation. Among the Foxes another lay-brother was cruelly treated and compelled by a chief to work for him, a drawn sword being held over his head at times. Father Enjalran accompanied the Ottawa troops led by Durantaye in Denonville's expedition against the Senecas. Whilst fearlessly attending the wounded on the field of battle, he was himself severely wounded. During his absence the pagans fired his church and house at Depere. He subsequently returned to his mission at Depere, but how long he remained there is not known. In the winter of 1700 he was living at Mackinaw, and thenceforth his name ceases to be mentioned.

When the historian Charlevoix visited Green Bay in 1721, he found at the Fort of the Bay of the Puants (Green Bay) the amiable Father Jean Baptiste Chardon, a Jesuit Father, whose chapel was about a mile and a half from the mouth of the Fox river, up river, on the eastern bank of the river, a very short distance west of the present French church in Green Bay; the place is now covered with water. Medals, crosses, and other devotional articles have been found there. Father Chardon evangelized the Sacs, but not finding them docile, he was studying diligently the Winnebago language, in order to preach to that tribe. Charlevoix, in his capacity as embassador of the king of France, told the Sacs to respect and listen to their missionary, if they wished to retain the king's favor. That same year Father Chardon was sent to the Illinois. He was the last Jesuit Father that resided at Green Bay of whom we have any authentic account.

The wars between the French and Foxes greatly embarrassed missionary efforts. The Green Bay mission was perhaps occasionally visited by Jesuit Fathers residing at Mackinaw (Michillinimackinac) between 1721 and 1765. It is during this period that two Jesuit Fathers, whose names are unknown, were killed at Depere. The event did not occur prior to Charlevoix's visit to Green Bay in 1721, for neither the Relations nor Charlevoix say anything about it. Moreover, as Augustin Grignon, in his memoires of his maternal grandfather, Charles de Langlade, who came to Green Bay between 1744–46, mentions nothing of this tragical event, we must conclude that it did not occur after 1744, but before it, between 1721–45, probably during the French and Fox war of 1728. Elsewhere we have discussed this subject more at length.

The war that broke out between the French and English for the possession of Canada, 1754–59; then the Pontiac war, 1760–64; the American Revolution, 1776–83, kept the Northwest in a continual state of excitement, so that hardly anything could be done for the conversion of the Indians. Finally, the suppression of the illustrious Jesuit Order by Pope Clement XIV., in 1775, was for a time the death-blow of Indian missionary work. A Recollect Father stationed at Fort Ponchartrain (Detroit) made perhaps an occasional visit to Green Bay, the last time about 1793.

The first white settlers who located permanently at Green Bay about 1745, were the Sieur Augustin de Langlade, a Parisian by birth, and his son Charles, born in Mackinaw in 1729. A few other French families soon arrived. In 1785 the colony numbered seven families, with fifty-six inbabitants. In 1792 and 1804 the settlement increased by the arrival of a few French-Canadian families, so that at the beginning of the war of 1812 there were 250 inhabitants. In 1816 an American garrison arrived at Green Bay on the 16th of July, under command of Col. Miller, Maj. Gratiot, Chambers, and other officers. They erected a fort on or near the site of an old French fort on the west side of the river, called Fort Howard. At that time the Menominees had a village near by, about a half a mile distant, under a chief with the name of Tomah (Thomas). Col. Miller requested the Menominees to give their consent for the erection of a fort in the neighborhood, which consent was duly given, the Indians receiving flour, pork and some "fire-water."

Green Bay now began to grow, settlers moved in, a home market was established for the surplus productions of the soil, and vessels arrived from time to time with supplies for the garrison and settlers. In 1820 Col. Ebenezer Childs located not far from Fort Howard, on the west side of the river. Next year Daniel Whitney arrived; he was the first *American* that opened a store at Green Bay. That same fall came Gen. William Dickenson and three other Americans. Early in the season of 1821 a large delegation of Oneida and Stockbridge Indians arrived at Green Bay in order to make arrangements with the Menominee Indians for settling in their country. The arrangements were perfected and the Oneidas located six miles west of the bay, and the Stockbridges twenty-four miles above Green Bay on the Fox River. The Oneidas still reside on the reservation where they were first located; but the Stockbridges subsequently removed to the east side of Lake Winnebago, and many live on a reservation not far from Shawano. After the Black Hawk war of 1832 Green Bay grew rapidly. (Wis. Hist. Coll., vol. III.)

Michigan territory with its northwestern district, comprising Mackinaw County, Upper Michigan, and Brown and Crawford Counties, embracing the present State of Wisconsin and part of Minnesota, was formerly under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Quebec, which episcopal see was founded in

1659, Monseigneur Laval, Bishop of Petrea, I. P. I., being the first bishop. He arrived in Quebec on the 16th of June, 1659, and labored with apostolic zeal among the French and Indians until 1672, when he went to France. June the 19th, 1821, Pius VIII. erected the bishopric of Cincinnati, which was to comprise Ohio, Michigan and the Northwestern Territory. He appointed for that see Rev. Edward Fenwick, of Maryland, of the Dominican Order. He had two vicar-generals, namely Frederic Resé, afterwards first bishop of Detroit, and Gabriel Richard, a Sulpitian and pastor of St. Ann's in Detroit, Mich., since 1799.

Thirty years had elapsed since a Catholic priest had visited Green Bay (1793–1823). In 1823 Father Gabriel Richard of St. Ann's Church, Detroit, Mich., came to Green Bay and said Mass in Pierre Grignon's house, situated on Washington Street (in 1866 the property of Dr. Crane). In 1824 Green Bay numbered 500 inhabitants. Rev. J. Vincent Badin, stationed at St. Joseph's Mission, Mich., among the Pottawatamies, visited Green Bay three times, staying each time a month or so to attend to the spiritual wants of the people. His three visits occurred in 1825, 1826, and in the summer of 1828. In the fall of the same year, 1828, Rev. P. S. Dejean visited the mission.

Pierre Grignon had given, but without a deed, six lots on which to build a church and school, but at his death this property passed over to his heirs. A school, which was also to serve as a chapel, was built of logs, and Rev. Badin appointed a Frenchman with the name of Favrell to keep school and allowed him to assemble the people on Sundays, read to them the Gospel of the day, sing hymns and read prayers. But Favrell soon overstepped the limits of his permit and attempted to say Mass, minus the consecration, and to make processions accompanied by the soldiers of Fort Howard. He made a trip to Europe with an Indian, whom he everywhere exhibited, and the presents often made to the latter found their way into the Frenchman's pocket. To crown his work of hypocrisy and imposition he attempted to start a church of his own, but failed egregiously. In 1832 Very Rev. Frederic Revé was sent to Green Bay to rid the country of this impostor.

In 1830 Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati visited Green Bay, remaining only for a few days, but in the following year,

1831, he stopped there for three weeks, accompanied by Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli, arriving there on the 11th of June. They held a kind of mission during their stay, preaching several times a day and hearing confessions often until ten or eleven o'clock at night. Many who had not gone to confession for twenty, thirty, and forty years made their peace with God. The bishop confirmed 100 persons. A site was selected for a church in Menomineeville (Shanteetown), half way between Green Bay and Depere, $300 subscribed for the building, and the work begun. This church burnt down in 1846.

In 1832 Rev. Fathers Simon Sänderl and Fr. X. Hätscher, C. S. S. R., where stationed at Green Bay, where they baptized a great many Menominees, and likewise some at Grand Kakalin (near Little Chute). They left in the fall of 1833 and went to Arbre Croche, Mich., intending to establish, if possible, a house of their order there for the conversion and civilization of the Ottawas of that district. In 1832, Sept. 26th, Rt. Rev. Edward Fenwick died of the cholera, on an episcopal visitation, at Wooster. The same year also Father Richard, of Detroit, died of the same disease.

In November, 1833, Rev. S. Mazzuchelli, O. P., came with two nuns, cloistered Poor Clares, to Green Bay. Sister Clare, an American lady and a convert, was superioress. The other was Sister Therese Bourdaloue, and their Superioress in Detroit, whence they had come, was Sister Francoise De la Salle. They bought two acres of land from a man with the name of Ducharme, in Menomineeville (Shanteetown), to erect thereon a house of their Order and a school. They taught school for some time, and there are still people alive (1886) who went to their school. They remained from a year and a half to two years, and were there during the fearful cholera visitation in 1834, when Father Van den Broek, O. P., was stationed in the Green Bay mission. They assisted in attending to the sick and burying the dead. Sometimes no one could be found to bury the dead, and Father Van den Broek, with the two Sisters, were obliged to bury them. Often four and five died in one house, of the terrible sickness, many even while making their confession, and sometimes several bodies were buried in one and the same grave.

Father Van den Broek, who had arrived in the summer of 1834, labored in the Green Bay mission for about two years

and then went to reside in Little Chute. In December, 1836, Fathers Hätscher and Probst, C. S. S. R., took charge of Green Bay, but only for some months, and also Father Bernier was there, probably only on a passing visit. In fact, it can be said that Father Van den Broek attended the mission from 1834–1838, namely, for two years whilst residing at Menomineeville, and again two years after having moved to Little Chute.

In the night of the 14th of April, 1838, being the Saturday night of Holy Week, between the hours of ten and three, three soldiers of Fort Howard violently entered the church at Menomineeville and robbed "one silver urn, one silver chalice and cover (ciborium, scattering the consecrated hosts on the floor), one silver communion cup" and other articles of the value of $300 (ita Acta judicialia in Green Bay). The names of these sacrilegious robbers are Samuel Richardson, Lucius G. Hammon and Nelson W. Winchester. The stolen articles were found buried in the sand. The celebrated monstrance of 1686 was among the stolen articles. The perpetrators of this dastardly deed were sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor from six to twelve months.

Father Florimond Bonduel was stationed during two terms at Green Bay; the first time from 1838–43, and then again from 1858–61. After him came Rev. Peter Carabin, a German, from 1843–47, who in his turn was succeeded by Rev. A. Godfert, from October, 1847 to September, 1849. In the same month of September, 1849, Rev. Anton Maria Anderleder, S. J., at present Superior General of the whole Jesuit Order, and Rev. Joseph Brunner, S. J., came to Green Bay. Father Anderleder left in September, 1850, but his colleague, Father Brunner, remained one year longer in Green Bay, and then went to Manitowoc Rapids, where he was stationed for five years. He then was removed by his superiors to New Westphalia, Missouri, where he resided for two years, then went to Europe and from thence to Bombay, Hindoostan, where he labored most zealously for nineteen years. Father Brunner was succeeded in 1851 by Rev. John C. Perrodin, from 1851–57.

In 1868, Green Bay was elevated to the dignity of an Episcopal See, and Rt. Rev. Joseph Melchers was consecrated its first Bishop, on the 12th of July of that year.

Some Peculiarities of the Chippewa Language.

1. Long words.—The Chippewa language abounds in long words, many of them containing eight, ten and even more syllables; e. g.: Mitchikanakobidjigan—fence; madwes-sitchigewinini—bell-ringer; *metchikanakobidjiganikewininiwis-sigobanenag* (nineteen syllables!) a participle, meaning "men who perhaps did not build fences." There are two reasons to account for these long words. First, the continual adding of new syllables to express the various moods, tenses, persons, and participles of the verb, which in modern languages are mostly formed by means of short auxiliary words, has, shall, did, would, etc. For instance, take the verb, nin wabama (root wab); from this verb are formed words of seven to eleven sylables; e. g., wabamawindiban, he was perhaps seen; waiabamigowagobanen, they who were perhaps seen by, etc. Secondly, the compounding of words from two or more roots; e. g., kijabikisigan, from "kij," referring to *heat;* "abik" refers to *iron, metals*, and shows that the heating is caused by something made of iron or some metal; "is," has reference to *burning* and indicates that in this "heating iron," fire is made to burn; finally "igan" is the termination of a noun, derived from a working verb and indicates the object that performs the action described in the verb, that is it *names* the object or thing doing the work; e. g., pakiteige, he hammers; pakiteigan, a hammer. Thus the Chippewa word names the object and *in that name* it mentions often the *material* from which the instrument is made and the *end, purpose and object*, for which it is intended, the same as, e. g., telephone, telegraph, etc.

2. Great number of Verbs.—Perhaps nine-tenths, if not more, of all Chippewa words are verbs. The language, therefore, is the very expression of life, activity, being, action. *Nouns* are transformed into verbs, e. g., ininiwi, he is a man,

from inini, a man; nokomissiban, the grandmother I once had, i. e., my deceased grandmother, from nokomiss, my grandmother. *Adjectives* are changed into verbs, e. g., gwanatchiwan, it is beautiful, from the adjective "gwanatch," beautiful. *Numerals* are made into verbs, e. g., nijiwag, there are two, from "nij," two. *Adverbs* are transformed into verbs, e. g., bakanad, it is otherwise, different, from "bakan," differently, otherwise. A great many different verbs, belonging to different conjugations, and differing in meaning, are formed from one and the same root, e. g., the root "wab," has reference to seeing; from this root are derived nin wabama, I see *him*—nin wabandan, I see *it*—nin wabandis, I see *myself*—wabandiwag, they see *each other*—wabange, he looks *on*, is a spectator—o wabangen, he looks on *it*—o wabangenan, he looks on *him*—wabi, he sees. All these derivative verbs are formed from their primary root or radix, according to certain regular rules.

3. No Gender in the Chippewa language.—All nouns, adjectives and verbs are divided into two classes, namely, *animate* and *inanimate*. Animate refers to living beings, be they really so or only by grammatical acceptation. Inanimate indicates lifeless, inanimate things, real or grammatically so considered. In transitive verbs the *object* of the verb decides whether the verb to be used is to be animate or inanimate, e. g., nin sagia aw anishinabe, I like, love that Indian; the verb "sagia" is animate because its object anishinabe, Indian, is animate—o sagiton ishkotewabo, he likes, loves fire-water (whiskey), the verb "sagiton" is inanimate, because its object, ishkotewabo, fire-water, is inanimate. In intransitive verbs the *subject* of the verb determines the character of the verb, *e. g.*, nagosi anang, a star (gram. anim.), is visible. Here the verb is animate, because the subject, anang, star, is grammatically animate; nagwad anakwad, a cloud, is visible; here the verb, "nagwad," is inanimate, because anakwad (cloud) is inanimate.

4. Dual form.—Besides singular and plural they have a kind of dual, in the first person plural, and this dual form is systematically employed in all transitive and active verbs and participles. The pronoun "we" has a double form in Chippewa to express its double signification. If the word *we* is meant to signify not only the speaker and his party, but also the person or persons spoken to, then they use *ki*,

kinawind. But if the pronoun *we* is to be confined to the speaker and his party (duo), they use the dual form, *nin, ninawind.* Hence, when we speak *of* God, we use the *plural* form, Kossinan (Our Father), and when we speak *to Him*, praying, we employ the *dual* form Nossinan. So also in the verbs and participles, *e. g.*, *kinawind waiabamang* aw inini, we (includes the *speaker*, his *party*, and *persons spoken to*—plural) who see that man; *ninawind waiabamangid* aw inini, *i. e.*, we (only the speaker and his party—duo, dual form) who see that man. From these examples it will be seen that the Chippewa dual is not exactly like the Greek dual, though it somewhat resembles it.

5. Affirmative and Negative forms.—All verbs have two forms, the affirmative and the negative, and each has its proper moods, tenses, and participles. In other languages, the negative is only expressed by the word "*not*," whilst the verb itself remains the same, whether something be affirmed or denied. In Chippewa there is a double negation; first in the word "*not*," *kawin*, and secondly by the verb itself, which also expresses the negation, *e. g.*, *ikito*, he says (affirmative), kawin *ikitossi*, he does *not* say (negative form); enamiad (affirm.), one who prays, *i. e.*, a Christian—enamiassig (negat.), one who does *not* pray, *i. e.*, a pagan. Hence it can be truly that on account of this double form, affirmative and negative, the nine Chippewa conjugations really amount to eighteen.

6. Dubitative form.—All Chippewa verbs have a double conjugation, which might be designated the Assertive and the Dubitative conjugations of said verbs, and both of these conjugations have an affirmative and negative form; *e. g.* ikito, he says—root "ikit."

Assertive: { Nind ikit—I say (affirmative).
Kawin nind ikitossi—I do not say (negative).

Dubitative: { Nind ikitomidog—*Perhaps* I say (affirmative).
Kawin nind ikitossimidog—*Perhaps* I do not say (negative).

The dubitative, as the word implies, means an affirmation or negation made with some doubt, uncertainty, and is also used in speaking of historical events or facts of which the speaker was not a witness. Thus the Chippewa Indian can express by the verb itself the nicest shade of thought, posi-

tive assertion or doubtful, positive denial or dubitative. It also reveals a hidden phase of their mental life; their vacillating, hesitating, undecided way of acting, thinking, and talking. There is no positivism in his mental make-up. On account of this dubitative form, we can truly say that the nine Chippewa conjugations amount to thirty-six!

7. Great number of terminations.—From this multiplicity of conjugations, forms, moods, tenses and participles the reader can form some idea of the endless number of terminations, with which the Chippewa verb abounds to express every possible form of thought, action, or being. At the most moderate calculation, the first conjugation contains 122 terminations, and the fourth at least five hundred, if not more. It is an herculean task to commit all these terminations to memory, to remember the particular idea each one of them conveys, and to understand and employ them readily in conversation. The writer ventures the opinion that no white man ever spoke the Chippewa language to perfection, not even excepting Bishop Baraga, who composed a dictionary and grammar of their language.

8. Wonderful regularity and system in the Chippewa language.—There are only two irregular verbs in the whole language. Neither Latin nor Greek can compare with the Chippewa in regularity and system. Every possible shade and variety of thought, action and being can be expressed in that language with regularity and precision. The more the scholar studies it, the more he admires its systematic evolution of forms to express corresponding ideas. It may be compared to a majestic Gothic cathedral, where each stone and timber fits in its place. It is the very opposite of the English language, a conglomeration, so to say, of Anglo-Saxon, British, Danish, Norman, Greek, Latin, etc., without hardly anything like rule, regularity, or system. The Chippewa language is the very embodiment of rule, system, and regularity. The originators of that language in ancient times must have attained a high degree of civilization. Our Indians now are but the remnant of ancient civilized races sank into barbarism through incessant wars, immigrations and vice. Their language, it is true, is poor in abstract words or terms to express abstract ideas, but the fault is not in the language, but in the Indian's mode of life. He is a child of nature in all its individuality and concreteness.

Hence his ideas move only in the circle of concrete, individualized nature, and his language is necessarily bounded by the same limits. Were they a European nation, with the breadth and depth of European ideas, they could mould their language so as to make it express every idea conceivable. This is shown in the names they have given to objects of civilized make and invention, *e. g.*, biwabikomikana, iron road, *i. e.*, railroad; ishkotens, a little fire, *i. e.*, a match.

9. Plasticity of the language.—In English, most of the names of modern inventions are taken from the Greek language as being the most plastic and expressive of known languages for the coining of new words and names. Thus the theological word "incarnation" is rendered in Chippewa by "anishinabewiidisowin," which is a far better and more intelligible expression of that mystery than the word *incarnation* itself, and even the German word, "*Menschwerdung.*" It is derived from the verb, anishinabewiidiso, *he makes himself man* (in German: Er macht sich zum Menschen). This one example will suffice to show that the Chippewa language, if moulded by the European mind, would be wonderfully adapted for scientific, philosophic and theologic branches of learning. And this plasticity, this adaptibility for the coining and compounding of words is one reason why there are so many long words. They originate from the attempt to convey in *one* word, two, three, or more distinct ideas; *e. g.*, bidassimishka, he is coming here in a canoe, boat; from *bi*, denoting approach; ondass, come here; bimishka, he comes or goes in a boat, canoe. As *most commonly* every consonant is followed by a vowel, it is easy to clipp off a part of the word, retaining but the root to preserve the radical meaning, and then add to it two or three roots of other words, and thus make a new word. Thus, I wash my feet, my hands are cold, he regards me with compassion, I come to him begging, weeping with hunger, are all expressed in Chippewa by one single word. The same idea is manifested in many Latin words, adopted into the English language, *e. g.*, edify, manufacture, pontificate.

10. Euphony.—The Chippewa Indians pay great attention to harmoniousness of sound. Hence they often prefix or add a vowel to a word, in order to prevent the concurrence of disagreeable, harsh-sounding consonants; *e. g.*, "epitch,"

if followed by a word beginning with a consonant, will be made *epitchi*. Thus they prefix the letter *i* to *na*, *dash*, etc., if the preceding word terminates in a consonant that does not well assimilate with the *n* or *d* of the following word. For the same reason they put a consonant between two words, the one concluding and the other beginning with a vowel; *e. g.*, anamiewabo, holy water, from *anamie*, holy, sacred, appertaining to prayer; and *abo*, referring to water and liquids; the letter *w* is inserted for the sake of Euphony.

11. VARIOUS KINDS OF VERBS FORMED FROM ONE AND THE SAME ROOT.—Let us take for instance the root *anok*, which has reference to work, labor. From this root are formed:

a. The Common verb, *anoki*, "he works."

b. The Reciprocal verb, *anokitaso*, "he works for himself." These verbs show a reaction of the subject on itself; *e. g.*, *nin wabandis*, "I see myself."

c. The Communicative verb, *anokitadiwag*, "they work for each other." These verbs show a mutual action of two or more subjects upon each other; *e. g.*, *nin migadimin*, "we are fighting with each other."

d. The Personifying verb, *nind anokitagon*, "it works for me, serves me." These verbs represent inanimate things as acting like animate beings; *e. g.*, *ki-ga-nissigon ishkotewabo*," firewater (whiskey) is going to kill you."

e. The Reproaching verb, *anokitashki*, "he has the bad (?) habit of working." These verbs signify that their subject has a habit or quality that is reproach to him; *e. g.*, *minikweshki*, "he has the bad habit of drinking; he is a drunkard" (from *minikwe*, "he drinks").

f. The Feigning verb, *anokikaso*, "he feigns; makes believe he is working." These verbs are used to express feigning, dissimulation; *e. g.*, nibakaso, "he feigns to sleep" (from *niba*, "he sleeps").

g. The Causing verb, *nind anokia*, "I make him work; cause him to work." The verbs indicate that the subject of the verb causes its animate object to act or do something; *e. g.*, *manisse*, "he chops wood"; *nin manissea*, "I make him chop wood."

h. The Frequentative verb, *aianoki*, "he works often," *nita-anoki*, "he is industrious; likes to work." These verbs indicate a repetition or reiteration of the action expressed by

the verb; *e. g.*, *nin tangishkawa*, "I kick him," *nin tatangishkawa*, "I kick him several times."

i. The Pitying verb, *anokishi*, "he works a little" (being still weak, sickly). These verbs are used to manifest pity; *e. g.*, *nin debimash*, "it is but too true what they say of me;" *nind akosish*, "I am deserving a pity; being sick."

In the same manner various kinds of verbs are formed from nouns transformed into verbs. Take for instance the noun *ogima*, "a chief"; from this root are formed:

a. The Substantive verb, *ogimawi*, "he is chief; he rules."

b. The Common verb, *nind ogimakandawa*, "I rule over him; govern him; am his chief."

c. The Abundance verb, *ogimaka*, "there are many chiefs" (*e. g.*, in a certain place). These verbs signify an abundance of what they express; *e. g.*, *sagime*, "a mosquito"; *sagimeka oma*, "there are lots of mosquitoes here."

d. The Possessive verb, *nind ogimam*, "I have a chief." These verbs denote possession of property; *e. g.*, *mokoman*, "a knife" (hence kitchi mokomanag, "the Big Knives," *i. e.*, the Americans), *nind omokoman*, "I have a knife."

e. To these may be added the so-called Working verbs, which denote doing or making a thing; *e. g.*, *pakwejigan*, "bread," pakwejiganike," "he, she makes bread."

All these verbs are formed according to certain fixed rules, so that from *one* simple root perhaps a dozen or more different verbs may be formed, and, as from each verb of these kind verbal nouns may be made, it is easy to be seen that the Chippewa language is richly supplied with verbs and verbal nouns, far more so than any of our modern or classic languages, that is, for expressing every possible mode of being and acting in Indian life. It is truly a *living, acting* language; everything in it seems to live and act.

For further interesting peculiarities of the Chippewa language, we refer the reader to Bishop Baraga's Chippewa Dictionary and Grammar, published by Messrs. Beauchemin & Valois, 256 and 258 St. Paul street, Montreal, Canada.

CHIPPEWA ROOTS

(Radical Syllables or Words) Resembling Those of European and Asiatic Languages.

Abreviations:—Sanscrit (Sans.)—Greek (Gr.)—Gothic (Goth.)—Latin (Lat.)—Lithuanian (Lith.)—Sclavonic (Scl.)—German (Germ.)—Hebrew (Hebr.)—Hibernian (Hib.)—Celtic (Celt.)—English (Engl.)—Anglo-Saxon (A. Sax.)—Danish (Dan.)—Dutch (D.)—Russian (Russ.)—Old Germ. (O. Germ.)

Aba—Chippewa formative conveying the idea of the English prefix: un ; *e. g.*, nind abaan, I untie it ; nind ababikaan, I unlock it. It also means, of, off, from; Sans., apa; Lat., ab; Gr., apo; Goth., af; D., af; Germ., ab (abnehmen).

Abato, bato, means, to run; *e. g.*, bimibato, I run by (a person, house); nin kijikabato, I run fast. Gr., baino; Fr., s'abattre.

Abi, signifies : to be in a place; *e. g.*, pindig abi, he is inside (house, etc.); nind abitan, I inhabit it, abide in it. Engl., abide; Lat., habitare; A. Sax., abidan; O. Germ., bitan; Goth., beidan; Dan., bie (perhaps, by, bei).

Abo, refers to liquids; *e. g.*, enamiewabo (prayer-water) holy water; ishkotewabo, fire water, whiskey. Sans., ap (water); Lat., aqua; Goth., ahra, water (flumen); Lith., uppê, river.

Aiabe, nabe, refers to male beings. Hebr., habbah, or abba, father (primogenitor), abbas; Eng., abbot; Germ., abt (perhaps the Germ. word, knabe, is derived from a similar root).

Animad, it blows, refers to wind, breath; *e. g.*, minwanimad, the wind is good, favorable. Sans., an (sonare), anila, wind, anemos; Lat., animus, anima; Hib., anal, breath,

anam, life; Goth., us, ana (expiro); Eng., animate; Dan., aand; Germ., odem, athem, athmen.

Andj, a formative syllable, implying change, alteration; *e. g.*, nind andjiton, I change it; andj' ijiwebisin, change your way of living, your conduct. This formative is very much used in compounding words, and always conveys the idea of change. Sans., antara (derived from antar, Lat., inter, sub); Goth., anthar; Germ., anders, ändern; Lat., alter, the "l" taking the place of the Chippewa "n"; Eng., alter, other.

Aw, this; *e.* g., aw inini, this man. Hebr., hou (him).

Bata, means something bad or wicked; *e. g.*, bata dodamowin, bad doing, bad action; bata ijiwebisi, he is bad, wicked. Engl., *bad*; Germ., böse; Goth., bauths, deaf, dumb, dull.

Bi, bic, has reference to liquids, water; *e. g.*, onagan moshkinebi, the dish is full (of water or some other liquid); ogidibic, on the water; giwashkwebi, he is drunk, dizzy from drinking. Gr., pino; Lat., bibo; Fr., boire; Sans., pitar (beer (?); Germ., bier).

Bi, a prefix and formative, conveying the idea of something coming to, or being brought to where the speaker is; *e. g.*, bi-ijan oma, come here! bidon, bring it here. Eng., by; Germ., bei.

Bibagi (root, bag), he calls; halloes. Sans., vac; Lat., voco, vox; old Germ., gi-vag; Serb., vik-ati (vociferate); Fr., voix; Eng., vocal.

Da, refers to place where a person or thing is, or said to act; *e. g.*, nin da, I dwell; endaiân, where I dwell, my house; dagwaso, she sews in a certain place, for instance, at home. Germ., da, darneben, darunter; A. Sax., thaer; Goth., thar.; Eng., there.

Dan, has reference to possessing things, riches; *e. g.*, kitchi dani, he is rich; daniwin, riches. Sans., dana, riches.

Dodam, (root dod). Eng., do; D., doen; Germ., thun; Sans., dâ, to put; dadami, I put. Gr., tithemi.

Gaie, means and. Gr., kai; Lat., que.

Ga, gin, refers to motherhood; *e. g.*, ninga, my mother; kiga, thy mother; ogin, his mother; ogiwan, their mother. Sans., gan; Gr., ginomai; Lat., gigno, genui, genitor; Hib.,

genim, I beget; Goth., kin; Eng., kin, kindred; Fr., génèse, generation.

Gagwedj (godj) has reference to questioning, trying. Sans., cest; Lat., quaesivi; Eng., quest, question; *e. g.*, nin gagwedjima, I ask him a question; gagwedjindiwin, question.

Iniw, onow, these, those. Sans., ana; Lith., anas, an's (ille, illa); Gr., en, on; Sclav., onu, ona, ono; Chald., inum.

Ish, an affix, implying contempt; *e. g.*, inini, a man; ininiwish, a *bad* man; ikwesens, a girl; ikwesensish, a *bad* girl. In English and German the termination "ish" means the same thing; *e. g.*, boyish, womanish; Germ., weibisch.

Jag (pron. zhag or shag) implies the idea of weakness; *e. g.*, nin jagwenima, I think he is weak; jagwiwi, he is weak; jagwagami anibishabo, the tea is weak. D., zwak; Germ., schwach.

Ki, Kin, thou, thy. Hebr., ka; D., gy.

Man, a formative syllable, generally indicating something bad; *e. g.*, manadad, it is bad; nin manadenima, I think bad of him, have a bad opinion of him; manj' aia, he feels unwell; manadisi, he looks bad, homely. Lat., malus, bad; as in Chippewa they have no "l," the letter "n" is always substituted for it, *e. g.*, angeli—anjeni. As the Latin formative, *mal*, is used in compound words, *e. g.*, malevolus, malignus, maleficium, etc , and always conveys the idea of something bad, so also the Chippewa *man* has the same meaning in all words, in which it occurs The Chippewa and Latin formative seem to be identical in meaning and origin.

Mang, a formative implying something large, great; *e. g.*, mangidibe, he has a large head; mangademo mikana, the trail, path, road is large, wide. This root, *mang*, is much used in compound words. Sans., manh; Gr., megas; Lat., magnus; Goth , mikils; Hib., mochd; Dan., mange; Germ., mancher. Conf. also Chippewa, nin magwia, I am greater, stronger than him, surpass, overcome him; nin mamakadenima (root mak), I admire him (for his greatness, strength, etc.)

Manito, means spirit; *e. g.*, Kije Manito, God; Kitchi Manito, the Great Spirit, God. Sans., man to think; manas, soul, spirit; Lat., mens; Eng., mind and man; Germ., mann; Dan., mand.

Mashk, refers to anything strong; *e. g.*, mashkawisi, he is strong; mashkawagami anibishabo, the tea is strong. Lat., magnus (?); Germ., macht, mächtig; D., magt.

Min, the opposite of "man," implies something good, and therefore lovely; *e. g.*, mino inini, a good man; mino ikwe, a good woman. It is much used in compound words, nin minwadendam, I have good patience; minotchige, he does well. Sans., mid, mind to love; D., beminnen, to love; O. Germ., minna, minni love, hence the word minnesänger.

Na, particle used in asking questions; *e. g.*, ki gi-wabama *na?* did you see him? Lat., ne (putasne?); Fr., ne.

Nin, means I. Hebr., ani, ni.

Ningot, means one; ningoting, once. Hebr., achad; Sans., eka.

Nongom, means now. Lat., nunc; Germ., nun; D., nu; Eng., now (*perhaps* from iw (this) gon (day), this day).

-on, a formative syllable referring to ships, boats; *e. g.*, pindonag (from pind, inside, in, and *on,* boat, canoe), in a canoe, boat; nin mangon, I have a large boat (from mang, large, and *on* boat). Hebr., oni, boat.

Ogima, means chief; kitchi ogima, a great chief, a king. Gr., hegemon.

Ond, ondj, conveys the idea of origin, source, cause, reason why and for; *e. g.*, Jesus gijigong gi-ondjiba, Jesus came from heaven; kin ondji dodam, he does it for you, on your account. Lat., unde, inde; D., ont (ontstaan); Germ., ent (entkommen).

Takona (root tak), I take, seize; *e. g.*, takonigewinini, a man who takes people—sheriff, constable. A.-Sax., tacan; Eng., take.

Tang, refers to touching; *e. g.*, nin tangina, I touch him. Lat., tango; Gr., tynchano; Eng., touch; Germ., tasten (antasten); tangible.

Wan, implies losing; *e. g.*, nin waniton, I lose it; nin wanendan (I lose it mentally) forget it; nin wanishin, I make a mistake; this root is much used in compound words. Hebr., aván; Lat., vanus, vanitas; Eng., vain.

Weweni. Eng., well; Lat., bene; Germ., wohl. (Perhaps the root is on, onijishin it is good; participle, wenijishing, good, that which is good.

Wi, a particle prefixed to verbs to denote will, determination to do a thing; *e. g.*, nin wi-ija, I *will* go. Germ. and Eng., will; Lat., volo, velle; Gr., boulomai.

Wid, widj, conveys the idea of accompaniment and is very much used in compound words, like the Latin cum (con); *e. g.*, widjiwagan, a companion; nin widjiwa, I go with him; widj' anishinabe, fellow-man; (Literally the Germ. mitmensch); Gr., meta; Eng., with; Germ., mit; D., med; Swede, vid; Dan., ved.

Wiw, wife; *e. g.*, wiwan, his wife. Germ., weib; D., wyf; Eng., wife.

Wissin, midjin, to eat. Lat., edere, est, or edit; Germ., essen, er ist; D., eten; Eng., eat.

Many more might be added.

Chronological Table.

1490 (?)—Chippewas settle on Madeline (La Pointe) Island.
1492—Columbus discovers the New World.
1534—Jacques Cartier sails up the St. Lawrence.
1541—De Soto discovers the Mississippi.
1605—First permanent French settlement in North America, made at Port Royal.
1607—Jamestown in Virginia founded.
1608—Quebec settled by Champlain.
1615—Recollect Fathers' arrival in Canada.
1620—Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.
1625—First Jesuit Fathers land at Quebec. The Recollect Father Viel, the proto-matyr of Canada, is drowned by a pagan Indian, at Sault au Recollet, near Montreal.
1629—Canada taken by the English under Kirk, and all the missionaries carried to England.
1632—Canada restored to France.
1633—Jesuits return to Canada.
1639—Jean Nicollet visits the Winnebagoes and other tribes at the head of Green Bay.
1642—Fathers Jogues and Raymbault, S. J., plant the cross at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. First captivity of Father Jogues
1646—October 18, Father Isaac Jogues killed by the Mohawks.
1648—July 4, Father Anthony Daniel, S. J., killed.
1649—March 16, Father John de Brebeuf, S. J , cruelly put to death by the Iroquois. March 17, Father Lalemant, S. J., tortured to death. December 7, Father Charles Garnier, S. J., killed, and on the 8th, death of Father Natalis Chabanel, S. J. Huron mission destroyed.

1654—Two French traders pass St. Ignace on their way to Green Bay, namely, Grosseilliers and Radisson; they are discovered in a starving condition on Madeline Island; visit the Hurons at the headwaters of Black River, Wisconsin, and the Sioux in Minnesota; return to Quebec in 1660.

1656—Father Leonard Garreau, S. J., killed.

1660—October 15, Father René Menard, S. J., arrives at Keweenaw Bay, Michigan.

1661—First mass in Wisconsin, by Father Menard, between the 1st and 10th of August; he perishes or is killed at the headwaters of Black River, Wisconsin, about August 10th.

1662—Conflict at Iroqouis Point, Lake Superior.

1663—Great earthquake in the whole St. Lawrence valley.

1665—October 1, Father Claude Allouez, S. J., arrives at Chagaouamigong (Chequamegon) Bay, and begins the mission of the Holy Ghost on La Pointe du Saint Esprit, at the head of Chequamegon Bay. About the same time or before that, Nicholas Perrot visits the Pottawatamies at Green Bay.

1667—Father Allouez returns to Quebec and brings back with him Father Louis Nicolas to La Pointe du Saint Esprit.

1668—Father Jacques (James) Marquette, S. J., stationed at Sault Ste. Marie.

1669—Father Claude Dablon, S. J., arrives at the Sault; Father Marquette stationed at La Pointe du Saint Esprit, September 19. Father Allouez founds the Green Bay mission of St. Francis Xavier, December 3.

1670—Father Allouez founds the mission of St. Mark, above Lake Winneconne, Wisconsin, April 25—the mission of St. James, not far from Portage City, Wisconsin, May 1—the mission of St. Michael, among the Menominees, near the mouth of Menominee River, Wisconsin, May 8—another near Little Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin, among the Winnebagoes and Pottawatamies.

1671—June 14, great mass meeting at Sault Ste. Marie; the mission of La Pointe du Saint Esprit abandoned.

1673—June 17, Father Marquette and M. Joliet discover the Mississippi.

1674—Chapel at Sault Ste. Marie burnt by pagan Indians.

1675—Father Marquette dies on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan.

1676—Nice church built at Depere, Wisconsin.

1677—Father Marquette's remains brought by a party of Kiskakon Indians to Mackinaw and interred at Point St. Ignace.

1679—Father Hennepin, O. S. F., and La Salle arrive at Mackinaw. Du Luth visits the Sioux, and the following year goes up the Bois Brulé and down the St. Croix River, Wisconsin.

1680—Father Hennepin ascends the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony. September 18, Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, O. S. F., killed in Illinois by some Kickapoo Indians.

1687—Church and mission house at Depere burnt by pagan Indians.

1690—Father Allouez dies at St. Joseph's mission, Michigan.

1695—A French trading post established at Chagaouamigong.

1705—Mission of Mackinaw abandoned; the Fathers with a sorrowful heart burn their church to prevent its desecration by pagan Indians.

1721—The historian, Charlevoix, visits Green Bay; Father Chardon, S. J., stationed there at that time.

1728—French and Fox war; probably during that war two Jesuit Fathers were put to death by pagan Indians at Depere, Wisconsin.

1741-65—Father Peter du Jaunay stationed at Mackinaw.

1745—Augustine de Langlade and his son Charles settle at Green Bay.

1754—Commencement of the Old French War.

1759—Quebec taken.

1776—July 4, Declaration of Independence.

1783—End of the war between Great Britain and the United States.

1790—Diocese of Baltimore erected. Mt. Rev. John Carroll consecrated August 15.

1793—May 25, First ordination in the United States, that of Rev. Stephen T. Badin.

1799—Rev. Gabriel Richard visits Arbre Croche. Washington dies.

1810—November 4, Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget consecrated Bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky. Pope Leo XIII. born, March 2.

1815—December 3, Archbishop Carroll, Baltimore, died.

1822—January 13, Rt. Rev. Edward Fenwick, first Bishop of Cincinnati, consecrated.

1823—Rev. Gabriel Richard visits Green Bay; a combination school and church built; destroyed by fire in 1825.

1825—Rev. J. V. Badin visits Green Bay, also in 1826, 1828.

1828—Rev. P. S. Dejèan, of Arbre Croche, Michigan, visits Green Bay.

1830-1831—Rt. Rev. E. Fenwick visits Green Bay; also V. Rev. Frederic Rese. Father Baraga arrives in New York, December 31, 1830.

1831—First Catholic Church in Wisconsin built at Menomineeville, near Green Bay—destroyed by fire in 1846 (?)

1832—Rev. Sänderl and Hätscher, C. S. S. R., take charge of the Catholic congregation of Green Bay. Bishop E. Fenwick, of Cincinnati, dies of the cholera at Wooster, Ohio, September 26. Father Van den Broek arrives in Baltimore, August 15.

1833—Rev. Sänderl and Hätscher go to Arbre Croche. Rt. Rev. Frederic Rese, first Bishop of Detroit (and first *German* Bishop of the United States) consecrated October 6.

1834—July 4, Father T. J. Van den Broek arrives in Green Bay—cholera there that same year.

1835—Rev. Frederic Baraga arrives in La Pointe, Madeline Island, July 27; he builds a chapel at Middlefort.

1836—The Redemptorist Fathers take charge of Green Bay for the second time. Father Van den Broek goes to Little Chute.

1838—Rev. Florimond Bonduel takes charge of the Green Bay congregation. Visit of Bishop Rese to La Pointe, Wisconsin.

1839—Father Van den Broek completes his church in Little Chute.

1841—Present church of La Pointe, built by Father Baraga. Rt. Rev. Peter Paul Lefevre, coadjutor of Detroit, consecrated November 21.

1843—Rev. Peter Carabin takes charge of Green Bay. Father Baraga removes to L'Anse, Michigan.

1844—Rt. Rev. John Martin Henni, of Milwaukee, consecrated March 17—created Archbishop in 1875—died September 7, 1881. August 16, 1844, Bishop Henni confirms 122 Indians and French in La Pointe.

1845—October 4, Rev. Otta Skolla, O. S. F. Str. Obs., arrives in La Pointe; removed to Keshina in 1853.

1847—Rev. A. Godfert takes charge of Green Bay. Father Van den Broek goes to Holland.

1848—First settlement of Catholic Hollanders in Wisconsin.

1849—Rev. A. Anderledy, S. J., and Jos. Brunner, S. J., take charge of Green Bay.

1850—Rev. A. Anderledy leaves Green Bay.

1851—Father Van den Broek dies at Little Chute, November 5.

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